







<sup>x</sup> Ha 5. 29



# LABOUR AND LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

---

VOLUME II:



LONDON

CONTINUED.

---

EDITED BY CHARLES BOOTH.

---

WITH MAPS AND APPENDIX UNDER A SEPARATE COVER.

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,  
14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON;  
AND 20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

---

1891.

LONDON :  
G. NORMAN AND SON, PRINTERS, HART STREET,  
COVENT GARDEN.

# CONTENTS.



## PART I.—LONDON STREET BY STREET.

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION ... ..	<i>The Editor</i> 3
II. STATISTICS OF POVERTY ... ..	„ 18
III. CLASSIFICATION AND DESCRIPTION OF STREETS ... ..	„ 40
IV. BLOCKS OF MODEL DWELLINGS—	
(1) STATISTICS ... ..	<i>Geo. E. Arkell</i> 236
(2) INFLUENCE ON CHARACTER ... ..	<i>Octavia Hill</i> 262
(3) SKETCH OF LIFE IN BUILDINGS ... ..	<i>A Lady Resident</i> 270
(4) SAMPLE BLOCKS ... ..	275

## PART II.—CENTRAL LONDON.

CHAPTER	
I. DESCRIPTION ... ..	<i>The Editor</i> 293
II. TAILORING AND BOOTMAKING—	
(1) COMPARISON WITH EAST LONDON ... ..	<i>The Editor</i> 305
(2) WEST END TAILORING—MEN'S WORK	
<i>James Macdonald</i>	309
(3) WEST END TAILORING—WOMEN'S WORK	
<i>Clara E. Collet</i>	316
III. COVENT GARDEN ... ..	<i>E. C. Grey</i> 322
IV. COMMON LODGING HOUSES ... ..	<i>R. A. Valpy</i> 335
V. HOMELESS MEN ... ..	<i>Margaret A. Tillard</i> <i>and the Editor</i> 350
VI. CENTRAL LONDON AND OTHER DISTRICTS ♦	
COMPARED ... ..	<i>The Editor</i> 371

## PART III.—SOUTH AND OUTLYING LONDON, ETC.

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. SOUTH LONDON... ..	<i>The Editor</i> 391
II. BATTERSEA ... ..	<i>Graham Balfour</i> 407
III. OUTLYING LONDON NORTH OF THE THAMES	<i>Jesse Argyle</i> 416
IV. MIGRATION (continued from Vol. I.) ...	<i>H. Ll. Smith</i> 444

## PART IV.—LONDON CHILDREN.

CHAPTER	
I. CLASSIFICATION ... ..	<i>The Editor</i> 477
II. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ... ..	<i>Mary C. Tabor</i> 486
III. SECONDARY EDUCATION—	
(1) BOYS ... ..	<i>H. Ll. Smith</i> 527
(2) GIRLS ... ..	<i>Clara E. Collet</i> 572
CONCLUSION—OUTLINE OF FURTHER WORK ...	<i>The Editor</i> 591

---

INDEX TO VOL. I. ... ..	597
INDEX TO VOL. II. ... ..	604

PART I.—LONDON STREET BY STREET.



# LONDON STREET BY STREET.

---

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTION.

---

IN passing from the special study of East London to a review of the whole Metropolis the method of inquiry into the condition of the people has been slightly changed. In dealing with East London (and afterwards with Central London and Battersea) the unit taken was the family. In extending over the larger area the street has been substituted as a working basis. Instead of noting the number of children going to school from each household with the employment and social position of its head, we have contented ourselves with stating the number of children street by street, dividing them as to class according to what is known of the parents, but giving only general particulars of the occupations. The result is, that the division of the population according to the conditions under which they live has been maintained, but that according to employment has been dropped.

It is no improvement to omit from the statistics particulars as to employment, but in order to cover the whole ground in a reasonable time it was necessary to lighten the work. Moreover, I hope to be able to deal with the industrial side of the question later in another and more complete way.

The information is otherwise the same in character as that used in Vol. I., and has been dealt with in much the same way. I subjoin exact copies of specimen pages from the note-books used, in order that the system may be understood and the right degree of value put upon the information obtained; each line represents a street:—

*Specimen Block with over 45 per cent. of Poverty. FINSBURY.*

Name of Street.		Colour for map.	Houses.		No. of Children, 3-13.	Description of Street.	Division of Children by Class.							
			Scheduled.	Unscheduled.			A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.
...	...	Purple	109	—	231	Struggling poor, mostly casual. Few in regular work. Porters in meat market, slaughtermen, brick. lab., carmen, &c.	—	100	35	25	40	31	—	—
...	...	D. Blue	18	—	22	Casual workers, labourers, carmen. One small shop. Very poor	—	18	—	3	—	1	—	—
...	...	L. Blue	5	—	11	Poor class, all labouring. Slightly better than last	—	—	5	6	—	—	—	—
...	...	L. Blue	6	—	21	Poor labouring class, more regular than preceding St. Postman, inkmaker, slater, &c.	—	6	—	15	—	—	—	—
..	...	L. Blue	9	—	7	Fairly regular work. Carmen and a caretaker	—	1	—	6	—	—	—	—
...	...	D. Blue	16	—	33	Very poor class. Irregular workers. A few better off (Laundry Labs. Paint. Plasterer	—	13	12	2	4	2	—	—
...	...	D. Blue	8	—	20	Labouring class. Like last Street	—	10	10	—	—	—	—	—
...	...	D. Blue	8	—	10	" Some drovers	—	8	2	—	—	—	—	—
...	...	D. Blue	10	—	10	Dwellings worse but people about same as previous St. Brick. Lab. out of work. Comp. out of work	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—
...	...	D. Blue	6	—	5	All labourers, very poor. Some old people have parish relief	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
...	...	Purple	16	—	43	Rather better than preceding St. More regular work. Master baker, plasterer, housekeeper	—	9	10	10	8	6	—	—
...	...	Purple	17	—	43	Very like last St. A slightly larger proportion of casual	—	13	10	6	8	6	—	—



...	...	...	L. Blue	24	1	Two-rmed.cott,also 5 or 6-rmed. Part- ly built by spec. builder	41	boursers, &c. Mixed Street. Some poor. Lab. porters, scavenger, drayman	—	10	5	14	6	6	—
...	...	...	Purple	67	—	Resp. 8 or 9 rms. and 4 rms.	159	Better class than any hitherto. Drovers, painters, signalmen. Most in good work.	—	29	—	50	50	30	—
...	...	...	Purple	5	—	Small cottages. No backs, decent	11	Mixed class, decent people. Vine- gar maker, &c.	—	—	6	—	5	—	—
...	...	...	Purple	37	—	4 to 6 rms. with areas	77	Railway servants and labourers, former work for G. E. R.	—	—	19	25	25	8	—
...	...	...	Pink	41	—	8 rooms. All same style. Let lodgings	70	Respectable class. P. O. clerk, coachbuilder, mechanics, gas inspector, no labourers	—	—	—	8	24	24	14
...	...	...	Purple	50	—	6 rms., a few 8	85	Poorer class, few mechanics, meat carver, carpenter, clerk; few poor	—	—	10	10	45	20	—
...	...	...	Pink	3	—	6 rms.	1	Respectable class	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
...	...	...	Pink	2	—	Block of buildings belonging to dis- pensary and soup kitchen	4	Baker and caretaker	—	—	—	—	—	4	—
...	...	...	Pk. to Red	11	3	Large houses. 10 and 8 rooms	10	Respectable class. Mantle cutter. Refuse information	—	—	1	—	—	6	3
...	...	...	Purple	29	—	8 rms. about £35	129	Nos. 85-89 let out in tenements. Low class of people; other parts respectable; mineral watermaker, milk carriers, drovers; in tene- ments, grocers' assistants, dyer, cheesemongers' assistant, clerks, other trades	—	40	—	20	30	30	9
...	...	...	Purple	29	—	6 rms. about £30	80	Mixed class, mostly poor cabmen, carman, labourer, saddler, car- penter	—	10	10	20	40	—	—
...	...	...	Pk. to Red	29	21	All but 4 are shops	55	Tradesmen doing a quiet trade, all comfortable. Some children go to good schools	—	—	—	—	10	23	22
..	...	...	Pink	1	3	Unsched. are large hses., 8 or 10 rms.	1	Mantlemakers, &c.	—	—	—	—	—	—	1

*Specimen Block with over 40 per cent. of Poverty. MARYLEBONE.*

Name of Street.	Colour for map.	Houses.			No. of Children, 3-13.	Description of Street.	Division of Children by Class.						
		Scheduled.	Unscheduled.	Character.			A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G. H.
...	...	Purple	4	4 rooms	11	Labourers, &c.	—	—	—	6	5	—	—
...	...	L. Blue	3	Stables	6	Horsekeeper, &c.	—	—	—	6	—	—	—
...	...	L. Blue	12	Dwellings in bad condition, let in 2-rm. tenements	223	Labouring class, poor, shifty, never stop here unless obliged; last step to workhouse	—	55	111	53	4	—	—
...	...	Pink	8	4 rms.	11	Artisans	—	—	—	—	11	—	—
...	...	Purple	19	Stabling, 2 small shops	25	Bargemen and cabmen, &c.	—	—	—	20	5	—	—
...	...	Purple	13	6 rms.	32	Labourers	—	—	—	24	8	—	—
...	...	Purple	35	8 "	99	" " &c.	—	—	—	37	56	6	—
...	...	Pink	14	3 private shops and 9 rms.	10	Decent	—	—	—	—	4	6	—
...	...	Purple	22	8 rms.	52	Artisan class	—	—	—	12	33	7	—
...	...	Purple	30	8 "	85	Artisans, charwoman, mattress makers	—	—	17	36	22	10	—
...	...	Pink	12	10 "	12	Good class, 1 caretaker	—	—	—	—	2	2	8

...	...	Pink	12	—	6 rms.	15	Artisans and teacher	—	—	—	—	15	—
...	...	Red	54	—	Shops and 8 to 10 rms.	77	Decent trade, some sublet to poor people	—	—	—	23	7	47
...	...	Pink	36	—	10 to 12 rms.	12	Few artisans, lodging - house keepers, &c.	—	—	—	5	7	—
...	...	Purple	113	—	6 to 12 "	279	Labouring class, houses sublet	—	28	73	145	33	—
...	...	L. Blue	9	—	4 to 6 "	36	" " poorer	—	9	27	—	—	—
...	...	Purple	39	—	Very mixed	62	Some decent shops	—	5	12	12	33	—
...	...	Purple	47	—	8 rms.	112	Labouring class	—	—	48	52	12	—
...	...	L. Blue	4	—	Stables	1	Horsekeeper	—	—	1	—	—	—
...	...	Purple	16	—	8 rms.	42	Labouring class	—	—	14	28	—	—
...	...	Red	4	28	2 cottages, rest large	5	Lodging-house keeper, caretakers and butler	—	—	—	4	1	—
...	...	Pink	22	—	10 rms., new	24	Good, decent people	—	—	—	—	21	3
...	...	Pink	10	6	" " "	11	1 drill instructor, 18th Midd., &c.	—	—	—	—	11	—
...	...	Pink	2	—	Models attached to police station, 2 rms. to each family	20	Policemen	—	—	—	16	4	—
...	...	Red	24	—	8 to 12 rms.	8	1 caretaker, lodging - house keepers, &c.	—	—	—	2	—	6
...	...	Pk. to Red	18	—	" " "	12	" "	—	—	—	—	12	—
...	...	Red	52	—	Large, few 6 rms.	35	Good class "	—	—	—	—	10	25
...	...	L. Blue	10	—	Stabling	13	Cabwashers, &c.	—	5	8	—	—	—

*Specimen Block with over 40 per cent. of Poverty. WESTMINSTER.*

Name of Street.	Colour for map.	Houses.			No. of Children, 3-13.	Description of Street.	Division of Children by Class.							
		Scheduled.	Unscheduled.	Character.			A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.
...	...	L. Blue	10	—	16	Ordinary poor	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	—
...	...	L. Blue	4	6 rooms, bad, 3 fam.	15	"	—	—	15	—	—	—	—	—
...	...	L. Blue	5	4 rms., decent re-pair, 2 fam.	16	"	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	—
...	...	L. Blue	12	3 fam. crowded, 6 rms. old	43	Nearly all poor	—	10	20	—	13	—	—	—
...	...	D. Blue	4	2 fam., 4 rms. small, old, and queer	10	Very poor	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—
...	...	L. Blue	68	Very crowded old houses	199	Struggling poor, some bad characters	—	30	100	—	69	—	—	—
...	...	Pink	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
...	...	Pink	5	—	7	Gas Company's employées	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	—
...	...	L. Blue	12	2 and 3 families	26	Poor working class	—	—	26	—	—	—	—	—
...	...	Pink	34	6 rms., 2 fam., fair	78	Mostly comf., but one-tenement house, very poor	—	18	—	—	40	20	—	—

...	...	L. Blue	12	—	Clean and decent	18	Poor working class	—	—	10	—	8	—	—
...	...	Pink	46	—	4 rms., very good	56	Comfortable working class	—	—	—	56	—	—	—
...	...	Pk. to Red	42	—	Decent houses	69	Mostly shops, doing well	—	—	—	20	19	30	—
...	...	L. Blue	12	—	4 rms., decent condition	27	Struggling	—	10	17	—	—	—	—
...	...	D. Blue to Black	17	—	Bad property, 4 rms.	17	Very poor	4	8	5	—	—	—	—
...	...	L. Blue	34	—	4 and 6 rms.	32	Respectable poor	—	9	15	—	8	—	—
...	...	D. Blue	16	—	4 - rm. cottages, dirty, bad lot	29	Casual poor	—	20	9	—	—	—	—
...	...	L. Blue	8	—	2 rms. decent	8	Regular poor	—	—	—	8	—	—	—
...	...	Pink	28	—	2 fam., 8 rms.	48	Decent respectable people	—	—	—	30	18	—	—
...	...	Purple	63	—	8 rms. and 10 rms. nice	154	Mixed with poverty	—	20	60	—	40	34	—
...	...	Purple	34	—	Decent houses	75	" "	—	—	30	—	30	15	—
...	...	Red	16	—	Shops	35	Tradespeople, 1 poor, very neglected	—	3	—	—	—	12	20
...	...	Pink	13	—	Good size, decent	31	Good class, sub-professionals, &c.	—	—	—	—	20	11	—
...	...	Pink	3	—	—	9	Comfortable little place	—	—	—	—	4	5	—
...	...	L. Blue	12	—	Small cottage, good	16	Poor class	—	—	16	—	—	—	—
...	...	Red	10	—	Large and good	6	Well-to-do	—	—	—	—	—	—	6



*Specimen Block with over 50 per cent. of Poverty.* CHELSEA.

Name of Street.	Colour for map.	Houses.			No. of Children, 3-13.	Description of Street.	Division of Children by Class.							
		Scheduled.	Unscheduled.	Character.			A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.
...	...	...	...	D. Blue to Black	11	—	6	11	—	3	—	1	—	—
...	...	...	...	D. Blue	14	—	—	30	13	—	—	—	—	—
...	...	...	...	L. Blue	12	—	—	10	30	10	—	—	—	—
...	...	...	...	L. Blue	10	—	—	10	20	6	6	—	—	—
...	...	...	...	D. Blue	23	—	—	20	30	20	8	—	—	—
...	...	...	...	D. Blue	12	—	—	20	20	16	—	—	—	—
...	...	...	...	D. Blue to Black	65	—	40	150	80	29	—	—	—	—
...	...	...	...	L. Blue	17	—	—	—	20	21	—	—	—	—
...	...	...	...	Purple	27	—	—	—	—	15	25	—	—	—
...	...	...	...	Pink	5	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—

...	...	...	Purple	63	—	10 rooms, houses good, not built for this lot, rents vary 10 rms., good, 12 shops	268	Very mixed, artisans & labourers, some casual	—	20	60	68	100	20	—
...	...	...	Purple	68	32	10 rms., good, 12 shops	86	Very mixed, 1 house a regular den; visitor very careful that this is correct	—	6	12	12	20	18	18
...	...	...	Red	11	53	10 to 12 rms., good, £70 to £90 per ann.	4	Those scheduled are caretakers	—	—	—	—	4	—	—
...	...	...	Pink	4	—	8 rms., good re-pair, 6s per floor	8	Good-class artisans, &c.	—	—	—	—	—	8	—
...	...	...	Pink	5	—	8 rms., good re-pair, 6s per floor	5	Bus conductor and coachmen	—	—	—	—	5	—	—
...	...	...	Pink to Red	104	—	10 rms., good	101	Good class, some keep servants, furnished apartments	—	—	—	—	20	40	41
...	...	...	Red	7	36	10 to 12 rms., semi-detached, about £80 per ann.	5	1 doctor, 1 policeman, 1 caretaker	—	—	—	—	2	—	3
...	...	...	Red	5	37	10 to 12 rms., semi-detached, about £80 per ann.	3	Caretakers only scheduled	—	—	—	—	3	—	—
...	...	...	L. Blue Red	4	—	Stabling	2	1 milkman, 1 paperhanger	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
...	...	...	Red	3	50	10 to 12 rms., £60 per ann.	3	Caretakers	—	—	—	—	3	—	—
...	...	...	Red	1	24	12 rms., good, £80 per ann.	2	Master builder, good	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
...	...	...	Red	—	16	12 rms., good, £80 per ann.	—	Not yet finished, well-to-do	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
...	...	...	Red	4	2	12 rms., good, £80 per ann.	9	Master builder, all keep servants	—	—	—	—	—	—	9
...	...	...	Red	9	4	12 rms., good, £80 per ann.	4	Well-to-do	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
...	...	...	Pink	28	—	6 rms., new, 11s to 13s per week	27	Not yet finished, decent class	—	—	—	—	12	15	—
...	...	...	Pink	9	—	All shops and 5 rms.	11	Decent business	—	—	—	—	—	5	6
...	...	...	Pink	24	—	6 rms., 11s to 13s per week	18	Not yet finished, artisans, &c.	—	—	—	—	8	10	—

*Specimen Block with over 45 per cent. of Poverty.* EAST LAMBETH.

Name of Street.	Colour for map.	Houses.			No. of Children, 3-13.	Description of Street.	Division of Children by Class.							
		Scheduled.	Unscheduled.	Character.			A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.
...	...	...	...	Pk. to Red	89	6	5 or 6 to 8 rooms, 10s to £30 14s, 2 fams.	116	Fairly respectable and comfortable mainly	—	—	—	—	—
...	...	...	...	L. Blue	18	—	Some are tenements built and let to 3 families, 7s 6d top, 6s 6d middle, 6s basement; other houses 13s, 2 and 3 families 11s and 12s	25	Ordinary mechanics; many in gasworks	—	16	9	—	—
...	...	...	...	Red	48	16	Main road: large shops	63	Main thoroughfare: many shops	—	—	—	—	—
...	...	...	...	Pk. to Red	101	—	This part is south side of canal, and is rather poor	126		—	—	—	—	—
...	...	...	...	Purple	53	—		121		—	51	70	—	—
...	...	...	...	Purple	41	—		111	Runs parallel with canal: respectable poor; some factories on small scale	—	—	46	40	25
...	...	...	...	Pink	52	—		125	Fairly comfortable; many of Chubb's workmen, &c.	—	—	35	70	20
...	...	...	...	L. Blue	55	—		158	Road never finished or made up, very bad in winter; large houses let in tenements, as No. 27, 2 back rooms at 3s 6d, 3 front 3s 6d each, 1 at 2s 6d, and 1 at 1s 6d, total 18s; quite a poor class of people	—	80	48	—	30



...	...	Pink	—	11s, 2 families	48	Tolerably good class, mechanics, &c.	—	—	12	36
...	...	Pink	—	" "	62	" "	—	—	18	44
...	...	Purple	—	" "	12	" "	—	—	6	6
...	...	L. Blue	—	" "	7	Comfortable poor	—	—	7	—
...	...	Pink	—	Very dilapidated large double houses, 15s; 2 families 8s each tenement	75	Clerks, mechanics, &c.: built for a better class	—	—	—	50 25
...	...	L. Blue	—	Vary; large to very small cottages, all in very disgraceful state	66	Very mixed; some very poor hawkers, &c.; several gone hopping	—	22	20	24
...	...	Purple	—	Fairly good	119	Mixed; comfortable to poor	—	17	42	60
...	...	L. Blue	—	2 rooms and 4 rms., 5s and 7s 6d, fair condition	86	Decidedly poor, mechanics and labourers	—	14	15	22
...	...	L. Blue	—	Top decent, others very poor	160	Poor labouring class; many in gasworks	—	26	80	54
...	...	D. Blue	—	Tenements, 3s 6d to 5s	10	Wretchedly poor	—	10	—	—
...	...	D. Blue	—	Poor style	32	Very poor; 17 empty houses as well	—	20	12	—
...	...	L. Blue	—	Small, 5s 6d to 7s	35	All labouring class	—	7	20	8
...	...	D. Blue	—	6s 6d, bad and unsanitary	42	Mainly Irish; very poor labouring people; attend R. C. or ragged school	—	30	12	—
...	...	Purple	—	8s to 10s, fair	102	Mixed; nearly all Irish	—	20	30	52
...	...	Purple	—	Vary; mostly poor class shops	24	As last	—	—	14	10
...	...	Purple	—	8s, 2 families	42	Ragged school here (now closed), a Church School and Monastery here now	—	—	30	12
...	...	L. Blue	—	New and good	26	Mixed; but mostly poor	—	—	18	8
...	...	L. Blue	—		12		—	—	12	—
...	...	Pk. to Red	—		10	New road, not yet finished; villa style	—	—	—	10

*Specimen Block with under 10 per cent. of Poverty.* GREENWICH.

Name of Street.	Colour for map.	Houses.			No. of Children, 3-18.	Description of Street.	Division of Children by Class.						
		Scheduled.	Unscheduled.	Character.			A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G. H.
...	...	158	—	6 rooms, 8s to 10s	214	Mixed class, mechanics, labourers, clerks, &c., mostly comfortable	—	—	—	24	160	30	—
...	...	122	—	6 rms., 7s to 10s, 2 families	122	Working-class, labourers, hawker, gardener, carpenter, builder. Rather poorer than previous road	—	30	—	31	50	11	—
...	...	116	—	Same class of house	166	Like first-named road: bricklayer, watchmaker, clerk, painter, gardener	—	—	—	16	130	20	—
...	...	9	—	8 rms., 10s and 11s; 3 semi-detached, 25s	10	Comfortable class of people, School Board officer, widow, bricklayer	—	—	—	—	—	10	—
...	...	22	—	8 rms., £19. 10s; others smaller	31	Mostly mechanics, carpenter, cabinet-maker, graver, labourer	—	—	—	3	24	4	—
...	...	20	—	8 rms., £20	20	Mostly working class, plumber, dyer's cleaner, traveller, comfortable	—	—	2	—	6	12	—
...	...	52	—	Mostly shops; few small houses, 8s	70	Nearly all shopkeepers, employing at least 1 assistant. In small houses, labourers, carpenter	—	—	—	12	—	8	50
...	...	46	—	Mixed rents, 8s to 10s	97	Working class, bricklayer, painter, signalman, carpenter. Few poor, inspector of police, small shops	—	4	—	16	67	10	—
...	...	6	40	Detached and semi-detached, £40 to £60	6	Caretakers, police-sergeant, inspector	—	—	—	2	—	4	—

...	...	...	Red	24	31	£32 to £60	23	Publican, clothier, grocer, several shops, all comf., clerks, &c.	—	—	—	—	—	23	—
...	...	...	Red	12	32	£32 to £42	19	Comfortable class of people. Those scheduled are clerks, builder, sexton	—	—	—	—	12	7	—
...	...	...	Purple	20	—	6 rms., 10s or 11s; some 2 families	35	There is a girls' industrial home here with 18 girls in residence. Nos. 17 and 19, bootmaker, plumber, labourer, mostly mechanics	—	—	18	13	4	—	—
...	...	...	Red	2	29	8 or 9 rms.	3	Well-to-do clerks and others, mostly City people	—	—	—	—	—	3	—
...	...	...	Red	62	—	8 or 9 rms.	16	Clerks, watchmaker, builder, all well off	—	—	—	—	—	16	—
...	...	...	Red	26	—	"	7	Like previous road	—	—	—	—	—	7	—
...	...	...	Red	24	7	Detached and semi-detached, £40 to £55	3	Well-to-do class of people, clerks and builders, others not scheduled	—	—	—	—	—	3	—
...	...	...	Red	6	16	"	16	Like last road, clerks and accountants	—	—	—	—	—	16	—
...	...	...	Red	6	13	£40 to £50	22	Mostly caretakers and gardeners. Head master of Board school	—	—	—	18	—	—	4
...	...	...	Red	12	18	£30 and upwards	14	Mostly clerks and others well-to-do	—	—	—	—	—	14	—
...	...	...	Pk. to Red	150	50	Varied, from 10s to 11s, large shops and private houses	142	Large shopkeepers near Forest Hill. Number of mechanics, merchant, schoolmaster, brewer's servant, labourer, signalman, very mixed	—	—	—	69	19	30	24
...	...	...	Red	40	—	Many shops, £60; private houses, £32 to £50	74	Clerks and others engaged in City, shopkeepers, retired captain, travellers, tea-broker, caretaker	—	—	—	—	4	40	30
...	...	...	Pk. to Red	16	—	12s, 8 rms.	6	Clerks and mechanics, station-master	—	—	—	—	—	3	—
...	...	...	Pk. to Red	32	—	6 rms., few larger, 10s, 11s	21	Respectable class, printer, clerk, draughtsman, canvasser, indep.	—	—	—	—	4	17	—

The other roads in this block are entirely unscheduled; have about sixty houses, all coloured orange.

From the details provided by notes like the foregoing, and some supplementary information, each street in London has received its distinctive colour for the map, and the whole population (estimated according to birth-rate, as explained in Vol. I.), has been divided by class in proportion to the number of school children. The calculations are based, as before, on the general assumption that as is the condition of families with school children, so on the whole will be that of the entire population, or so far as there is any difference better rather than worse. (See Vol. I., pp. 4.)

For unit of area we have almost necessarily accepted the School Board "block." These areas, unfortunately, bear no exact relation either to the registration sub-districts or to the ecclesiastical parishes, which, again, differ from each other. The street, even, is not a common unit, as long streets run through from block to block, from sub-district to sub-district, and from parish to parish. Despite these difficulties it would, no doubt, be possible, if it were needed for any special purpose, so to group and sub-divide the streets as given in our books as to yield fairly correct results for any area that might be required.

In a general way the results, street by street and district by district, can be best shown graphically, and the reader is referred to the maps included with the Appendix to this volume. There is a map of the whole Metropolitan area divided into compound blocks of about 30,000 inhabitants each, and shaded according to the percentage of poverty found in each. And there is a map on a larger scale (divided into four sections), on which is indicated the character of every street so far as it extends, but this map is squared off some way within the Metropolitan boundaries.\* The marking of the streets in different shades and colours according to their prevailing social character was done, in the first instance, from the particulars given in the notebooks, of which some specimen pages have been given. It

\* The original map of this curtailed London, 25 in. to the mile, measures 16 ft. by 13 ft., but has been very beautifully reduced by Messrs. Stanford to the 6 in. scale.



was then revised by my secretaries, who for this purpose walked over the whole ground, and also by the School Board visitors. After this it was referred to the parish relieving officers for each Union, and to the agents of the Charity Organization Society throughout London. The police were also referred to with regard to the streets marked black. Finally, I have consulted the clergy and their district visitors as to most of the poorer parts, obtaining from them, by the way, interesting details of typical streets. At each stage of revision amendments have been introduced where needed, and the map may now, I think, be accepted as practically correct.

From these authorities we have, at the same time, sought to learn something of the influences at work to make or mend the condition of things indicated by the map; and we hope to say something of this in another volume. When the ground plan of a social map of London is laid down, many sources of information become available and readily fall into line, making it difficult to decide what to attempt or where to stop in bringing local knowledge from different sources to widen and intensify our conception of the conditions of life in this, the greatest city of the world.

I desire to thank very heartily all those who have helped me. The Local Government Board, the School Board and Boards of Guardians; the School Board visitors, the Relieving officers and the Police; the clergy and lay workers among the poor; who have all alike met my often troublesome demands with kindness and courtesy, for which I am very grateful. My thanks are also due to the Central London Committee and to Mr. Graham Balfour, for allowing me to publish the results of their labours with my own. Finally, I can hardly sufficiently recognize the assistance given me by Miss Tabor, in that part of the work which specially concerns the children in the elementary schools, by Miss Collet and Mr. Llewellyn Smith in other parts of the work, and the devotion of my secretaries throughout the whole of it.

## CHAPTER II.

### STATISTICS OF POVERTY.

---

BEFORE giving the figures by which I have sought to measure the poverty existing in London, it may be well to refer once more to their validity. The methods employed in the collection and tabulation of the information have been already indicated. These methods were adopted as suited to the peculiarities of the subject and the materials with which we had to deal; but are doubtless open to criticism from many points of view. Not only is exactness in this case out of the question, but even the most general results obtained are open to dispute. At every turn the subject bristles with doubtful points. For each one of these, as it has arisen (if it has been observed) the best available solution has been sought, or what has seemed the most reasonable course has been taken.

But it is manifest that in an inquiry such as this, a very slight bias may lead to serious error, and the bias might be quite unconscious. I can only say we have done our best to keep clear of this danger.

It is to be remarked further that apart from bias two distinct mental attitudes continually recur in considering poverty; and either of these, if not safeguarded in some way, might prove very misleading. On the one hand we may argue that the poor are often really better off than they appear to be, on the ground that when extravagances which keep them in poverty are constant and immediate in their action, the state of things resulting cannot reasonably be called poverty at all. For instance, a man who spends ten or fifteen shillings in drink one week, cannot be called

poor because he lacks the money for some necessity a few days later. In support of this it is certainly true that in many cases the homes appear no whit less poor whatever the earnings at the time may be. It often occurs too that the ordinary earnings are increased by accidental receipts capable, if judiciously applied, of meeting the occasional extra demands which keep men's pockets empty. On the other hand we may as logically, or perhaps more logically, disregard the follies past or present which bring poverty in their train. For how distinguish between degrees of folly more or less recent or remote? In this temper we prefer to view and consider these unfortunates only as they actually exist; constantly put to shifts to keep a home together; always struggling and always poor. And turning in this direction the mind dwells upon the terrible stress of times of sickness or lack of work for which no provision, or no adequate provision, has been made. According as the one or other of these two points of view is taken, thousands of families may be placed on one or the other side of the doubtful line of demarcation between class and class among the poor.

Of these two ways of looking at the same facts, the second is that which we have in theory adopted, and although in practice this theory will have been more or less modified, it is still probable that a good many families have been reported as poor, who, though they are poor, are so without any economic necessity. On the other hand it is likely enough that many a painful struggling life hidden under a decent exterior has passed in our books as "comfortably poor," to borrow a phrase used by one of the most sympathetic of the School Board visitors. Thus in the end, when I consider the figures, and the tale they tell, though I sway this way or that according to the mood of the moment, I am fully satisfied that the general conclusions are not very far from the truth, and I believe that my readers may fairly accept them in this light. In so far as



there is any general error it will I think be found on the safe side;—that is, in overstating rather than understating the volume of poverty which exists, or existed when the inquiry was made; and it is satisfactory to know that since the inquiry was made, times have been good, and poverty less pressing, than was the case previously.

The inhabitants of every street, and court, and block of buildings in the whole of London, have been estimated in proportion to the numbers of the children, and arranged in classes according to the known position and condition of the parents of these children. The streets have been grouped together according to the School Board subdivisions or “blocks,” and for each of these blocks full particulars are given in the tables of the Appendix. The numbers included in each block vary from less than 2000 to more than 30,000, and to make a more satisfactory unit of comparison I have arranged them in contiguous groups, 2, 3, or 4 together, so as to make areas having each about 30,000 inhabitants, these areas adding up into the large divisions of the School Board administration. The population is then classified by Registration districts, which are likewise grouped into School Board divisions, each method finally leading up to the total for all London.

The classes into which the population of each of these blocks and districts is divided are the same as were used in describing East London, only somewhat simplified. They may be stated thus:—

A. The lowest class—occasional labourers, loafers and semi-criminals.

B. The very poor—casual labour, hand-to-mouth existence, chronic want.

C and D. The poor—including alike those whose earnings are small, because of irregularity of employment, and those whose work, though regular, is ill-paid.

E and F. The regularly employed and fairly paid working class of all grades.

G and H. Lower and upper middle class and all above this level.

The Classes C and D, whose poverty is similar in degree but different in kind, can only be properly separated by



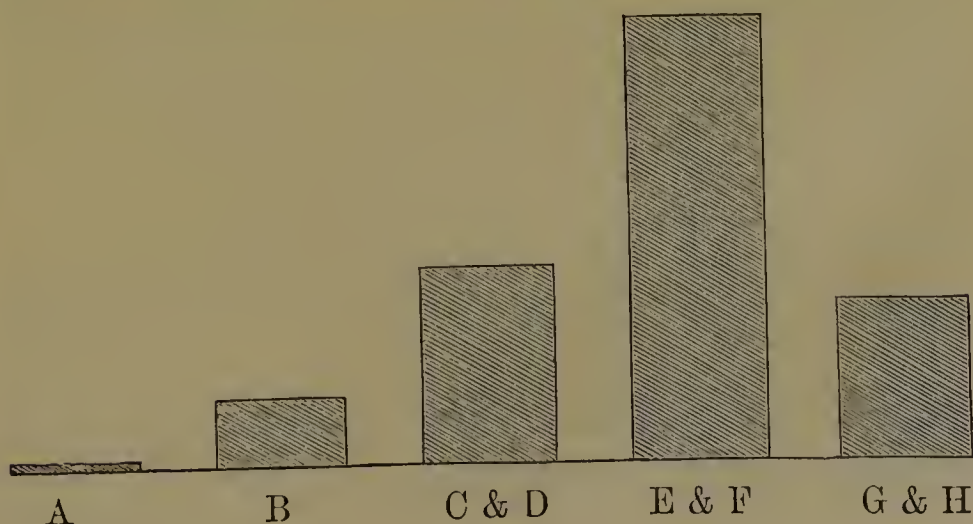
information as to employment which was obtained for East London, but which, as already explained, the present inquiry does not yield. It is the same with E and F, which cover the various grades of working-class comfort. G and H are given together for convenience.

Outside of, and to be counted in addition to, these classes, are the inmates of institutions whose numbers are specially reported in every census, and finally there are a few who, having no shelter, or no recognized shelter, for the night, elude official enumeration and are not counted at all.

The proportions of the different classes shown for all London are as follows :—

A (lowest) .....	37,610	or	.9 per cent.	In poverty, 30.7 per cent.
B (very poor) .....	316,834	„	7.5 per cent.	
C and D (poor) .....	938,293	„	22.3 per cent.	
E and F (working class, comfortable) .....	2,166,503	„	51.5 per cent.	In comfort, 69.3 per cent.
G and H (middle class and above) .....	749,930	„	17.8 per cent.	
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
	4,209,170		100 per cent.	
Inmates of Institutions .....	99,830		<hr/>	
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
	4,309,000			

Graphically, the proportions may be shown thus :—



The description of these classes given already as to East London, may be taken as applying with equal force to the whole population. Much might be added to make the description more complete, but nothing need be taken away. The numbers of the lowest class (A), it is admitted, are given at a very rough estimate; they are hardly to be counted by families and so partly escape the meshes of our School Board net. They are to be found in the common lodging-houses and in the lowest streets, and a very full description of their lives and habits is given in the special chapters which treat of these subjects. Class B is fairly counted, and of what it consists, many examples are given in the description of specimen streets, but neither it nor any of the working classes, C, D, E, or F, can be dealt with properly apart from their trades or employments, as the conditions under which these people live, depend mainly upon the conditions under which they work or fail to find work. An account of the life of each of the several classes that are grouped under the letters G and H would be very interesting, but is beyond the scope of this book. I am, however, able to make a division in the figures which answers pretty closely, though not quite exactly, to that between upper and lower middle class. This division is provided by the line of rental value, beyond which the School Board do not go in making their schedules. Out of the 750,000 people included in Classes G and H, as nearly as possible 250,000 live in scheduled and 500,000 in unscheduled houses. These figures may be counted as representing roughly the lower and upper middle classes respectively. The wealthy classes are included with the upper middle class.\*

Assuming that these figures are accepted as approximately correct, the view that is taken of them will depend

\* The unscheduled population has been estimated in proportion to the number of houses in some cases, and assumed by way of remainder in other cases, and in every instance the assumed number of servants has been added to Classes E, F, to which by position they may be taken to belong.

partly upon what may have been pre-supposed. I imagine that bad as is the state of things they disclose it is better than was commonly imagined previous to the publication of the figures obtained for East London. On the other hand they are probably worse, especially in regard to the numbers of Classes C and D, than may have been anticipated by those who have studied and accepted the East End figures.

That is to say, the poverty of the rest of London as compared to East London is perhaps greater than most people have supposed. For myself it was so. In 1888 I made an estimate based on the facts as to East London, and the comparative density of population in other parts, on the theory that density would probably coincide with the degree of poverty. The result was to show a probable 25 per cent. of poor for all London, or nearly 6 per cent. less than we now get. South London and the district about Holborn are mainly responsible for the difference.

The 100,000 people counted in institutions belong rather to the whole of London than to the particular district in which they are found. They may be divided under four heads :—

(1) Indoor paupers .....	45,963
(2) Inmates of hospitals, asylums, homes, &c., supported mainly by charitable donations, past or present .....	38,714
(3) Inmates of prisons .....	5,833
(4) Troops in barracks, &c. ....	9,320
Total .....	99,830

These people do not belong to the active population, and have therefore been omitted from the percentages given, but if for some purposes it is desirable to introduce them, it will not be unreasonable to include the inmates of the prisons with Class A, the in-door paupers with Class B, those in hospitals, &c., with Classes C and D, and the troops, &c., with Classes E and F. The revised per-



centages would then stand as follows :—A, 1·0 per cent. ; B, 8·4 per cent. ; C and D, 22·7 per cent. ; E and F, 50·5 per cent. ; G and H, 17·4 per cent.

As has been said, the tables in the Appendix give the details as to class for each School Board block and the areas into which they are grouped.

In the tables which now follow, another plan has been adopted as more convenient for comparison. London has been divided for this purpose into four parts : East, West, North, and South, and each part has been further divided into inner and outer portions. Within these divisions by the compass, the areas of 30,000 inhabitants have been grouped according to their actual position into larger areas of 90,000 to 100,000 inhabitants each, and these again taken two and two together as they lie side by side. The object aimed at is a comparison of the poverty of the different parts of London in regard to its volume as well as to its intensity. A reference to map No. 1 will elucidate this. Indeed the map tells its own story better perhaps than any statement in figures. I may here point out that as the blocks on this map contain approximately the same number of inhabitants, the space occupied gives a rough measure of density which can be readily grasped by the eye. This measure is more exactly defined by the numbers per acre obtained by a careful comparison of the number of inhabitants with the area occupied, and stated in the tables of the Appendix.

## EAST LONDON (1).

No. on Map.	Position.	Popula- tion.	Percent- age of Poverty.	—
56	Bethnal Green (West)	28,701	58·7	} 89,677=51 per cent.
57	Bethnal Green (East)	27,003	44·2	
72	From Whitechapel to Bethnal Green.....	33,973	49·1	
73	St. George's-in-the- East .....	34,989	46·5	} 97,539½ per cent.
74	St. Katherine's Docks	28,990	49·4	
71	Commercial Street to City .....	33,560	32·5	
61	Great Eastern Street	31,817	39·9	} 90,366=43 per cent.
62	Hoxton (West) .....	28,039	40·4	
63	Hoxton (East) .....	30,510	48·4	
60	Haggerston .....	29,357	36·9	} 89,475=38 per cent.
59	Old Bethnal Green Road .....	29,628	37·6	
58	Green Street .....	30,490	40·1	
	Central part of East London.....	367,057		44 per cent of poverty.

## EAST LONDON (2).

No. on Map.	Position.	Popula- tion.	Percent- age of Poverty.	—
80	West India Docks ...	26,778	43·2	} 85,213=36 per cent.
81	East India Docks ...	32,579	32·9	
79	East India Road.....	25,856	32·7	
82	Bromley (West) .....	30,145	51·5	} 93,122=40 per cent.
83	Bow Road (S ) .....	31,596	37·3	
78	Burdett Road .....	31,381	30·9	
77	Stepney Green to Regent's Canal ...	29,442	31·3	} 89,433=27 per cent.
75	Commercial Road ...	28,606	26·0	
76	Mile End Old Town	31,385	24·6	
84	Bow Road (N.).....	28,737	21·0	} 60,593 25 per cent.
85	Old Ford .....	31,856	28·0	
	Eastern part of East London.....	328,361		32 per cent. of poverty.

## EAST LONDON (3).

No. on Map.	Position.	Popula- tion.	Percent- age of Poverty.	—
67	Hackney Wick.....	25,302	35·9	} 87,283=30 per cent.
66	Hackney Common ...	28,319	27·1	
65	London Fields.....	33,662	28·0	
68	Lower Clapton .....	25,216	28·5	} 108,838=20 per cent.
70	Upper Clapton.....	24,414	21·6	
69	Hackney Downs .....	30,029	15·5	
64	De Beauvoir Town...	29,179	12·7	
	Northern part of East London.....	196,121		24 per cent. of poverty.

## NORTH LONDON (1).

No. on Map.	Position.	Popula- tion.	Percent- age of Poverty.	—
48	Essex Road .....	31,283	39·3	} 93,245=48 per cent.
40	Bunhill Fields.....	30,991	45·0	
41	Goswell Road .....	30,971	60·9	
42	Farringdon Road ...	34,266	47·3	} 96,399=44 per cent.
43	Holborn .....	29,430	48·9	
22	Gray's Inn Road.....	32,703	37·4	
44	Russell Square .....	35,686	23·5	
	Central part of North London.....	225,330		43 per cent. of poverty.

## NORTH LONDON (2).

No. on Map.	Position.	Popula- tion.	Percent- age of Poverty.	—	
23	Somers Town .....	35,711	42·3	} 96,752=47 per cent.	} 189,340 40 per cent.
45	King's Cross .....	28,875	55·2		
46	Barnsbury .....	32,166	43·4		
47	Islington .....	30,396	22·8		
49	Canonbury .....	30,397	28·5	} 92,588=32 per cent.	
52	St. James's Road and Cattle Market .....	31,795	43·8		
53	Lower Holloway .....	28,793	24·4	} 93,362=28 per cent.	} 164,302 23 per cent.
55	Upper Holloway .....	26,702	28·1		
54	Hornsey Road, Upper Holloway .....	37,867	30·7		
51	Highbury .....	30,954	13·0	} 70,940=16 per cent.	
50	Stoke Newington .....	39,986	18·9		
Northern part of North London .....		353,642		32 per cent. of poverty.	

## WEST LONDON (1).

No. on Map.	Position.	Popula- tion.	Percent- age of Poverty.	--	
3	Soho .....	32,148	42·4	} 94,456 = 37 per cent.	} 189,571 30 per cent.
2	Strand .....	30,785	22·4		
6	Westminster Abbey...	31,523	45·9		
24	Tottenham Court Rd.	34,620	18·6		
25	Portland Place.....	29,640	21·6	} 95,115 = 24 per cent.	
27	Baker Street to Edg- ware Road .....	30,855	31·5		
5	Victoria Street.....	28,856	24·7	} 90,570 = 22 per cent.	} 181,520, 13 per cent.
7	Pimlico.....	28,968	22·7		
9	Chelsea.....	32,746	20·1		
10	Cromwell Road .....	36,049	6·0	} 90,950 = 5 per cent.	
8	Belgravia.....	23,585	5·0		
4	Mayfair.....	31,316	2·7		
	Central part of West London.....	371,091		21 per cent. of poverty.	

## WEST LONDON (2).

No. on Map.	Position.	Popula- tion.	Percent- age of Poverty.	—
11	West Brompton .....	34,641	12·6	} 93,723 = 18 per cent.
12	Parson's Green .....	26,870	26·9	
13	Walham Green .....	32,212	17·3	
14	Hammersmith.....	32,482	33·9	
15	Shepherd's Bush.....	35,911	17·0	} 98,740 = 26 per cent.
21	Wormwood Scrubbs	30,347	29·2	
18	Ladbroke Grove .....	36,236	47·4	} 107,601 = 42 per cent.
19	Notting Hill.....	38,905	44·0	
20	Kensal Town .....	32,460	33·6	
31	St. Peter's Park .....	36,285	12·9	} 95,714 = 22 per cent.
30	Maida Vale .....	32,235	40·9	
28	Tyburnia .....	27,194	12·4	} 87,520 = 14 per cent.
29	Westbourne Grove ...	28,647	16·9	
17	Westbourne Park ...	30,477	21·6	
16	Kensington .....	28,396	5·9	
	Western part of West London.....	483,298		25 per cent. of poverty.

## WEST LONDON (3).

No. on Map.	Position.	Popula- tion.	Percent- age of Poverty.	—
26	Lisson Grove .....	30,932	28·3	} 100,889 = 25 per cent.
32	St. John's Wood.....	36,520	35·4	
39	Belsize Park.....	33,437	11·7	
33	Camden Town (West)	25,585	28·6	} 96,937 = 30 per cent.
35	Chalk Farm.....	29,282	18·0	
36	Kentish Town.....	42,070	40·0	
34	Camden Town (East)	31,799	17·8	} 89,394 = 20 per cent.
37	Highgate .....	26,444	25·9	
38	Hampstead .....	31,151	16·2	
	Northern part of West London.....	287,220		25 per cent. of poverty.



## SOUTH LONDON (1).

No. on Map.	Position.	Popula- tion.	Percent- age of Poverty.	—
86	Southwark .....	33,173	67.9	} 98,352=60 per cent. ) 194,447
88	Bermondsey .....	33,147	56.1	
89	Horselydown .....	32,032	55.0	
93	Waterloo .....	31,690	45.4	} 96,095=44 per cent. ) 52 per
112	Newington .....	35,008	44.4	
87	St. George's Circus...	29,397	41.9	
94	Lambeth .....	32,276	36.5	} 92,222=37 per cent. ) 192,801
95	Vauxhall .....	29,682	39.6	
113	Lorrimore Square ...	30,264	34.9	
114	Walworth.....	34,118	36.7	} 100,579=33 per cent. ) 35 per
90	Spa Road.....	34,158	31.3	
91	South Bermondsey...	32,303	30.7	
	Central part of South London.....	387,248		47 per cent. of poverty.

## SOUTH LONDON (2).

No. on Map.	Position.	Popula- tion.	Percent- age of Poverty.	—
129	Plumstead .....	33,417	37.5	} 99,351=28 per cent. ) 196,840
128	Woolwich.....	32,172	27.3	
130	Woolwich Common...	33,762	18.8	
127	Greenwich .....	31,380	65.2	} 97,489=54 per cent. ) 41 per
123	West Deptford.....	32,786	46.0	
92	Rotherhithe.....	33,323	49.9	
124	New Cross .....	31,321	22.8	} 100,311=25 per cent. ) 165,493
126	South Deptford .....	34,298	34.9	
125	Brockley Hill .....	34,692	17.6	
132	Lewisham .....	32,436	20.4	} 65,182=13 per cent. ) 20 per
131	Eltham.....	32,746	6.5	
	Eastern part of South London.....	362,333		32 per cent. of poverty.

## SOUTH LONDON (3).

No. on Map.	Position.	Popula- tion.	Percent- age of Poverty.	—
121	Nunhead .....	31,186	40·6	} 91,940=36 per cent.)
119	Queen's Road .....	33,501	23·6	
118	Peckham New Town .....	27,253	45·5	
117	Surrey Canal .....	33,531	37·1	
115	Albany Road .....	32,719	26·2	} 99,043=32 per cent.)
116	Camberwell .....	32,793	33·2	
96	Kennington .....	32,407	10·6	} 93,399=15 per cent.)
97	Brixton Road .....	33,515	16·3	
98	Herne Hill .....	27,477	18·2	
111	West Norwood .....	30,386	21·1	
122	Dulwich .....	32,336	1·3	} 92,846=9 per cent.)
120	Peckham .....	30,124	5·9	
133	Sydenham .....	33,639	19·1	} 58,439=20 per cent.)
134	Penge .....	24,800	20·4	
	Southern part of South London.....	435,667		22 per cent. of poverty.

## SOUTH LONDON (4).

No. on Map.	Position.	Popula- tion.	Percent- age of Poverty.	—
101	South Lambeth .....	33,718	41·7	} 94,155=40 per cent.)
102	Battersea (East) .....	31,697	34·3	
104	Battersea Park .....	28,740	45·6	
105	Old Battersea .....	32,060	35·4	
106	Wandsworth .....	31,215	37·1	} 90,701=32 per cent.)
107	Putney .....	27,426	23·1	
108	Wandsworth Com- mon to Tooting ...	28,247	25·0	} 92,132=18 per cent.)
109	Balham .....	35,223	15·8	
110	Streatham .....	28,662	13·0	
99	Clapham Park.....	28,992	21·3	
100	Clapham .....	33,638	11·0	} 92,253=16 per cent.)
103	Lavender Hill .....	29,623	15·3	
	Western part of South London.....	369,241		27 per cent. of poverty.

## SUMMARY.

Position:	Population.	Percent- age of Poverty.	—
City .....	42,561	31	
Central part of East London.....	367,057	44	
Eastern   "       "       .....	328,361	32	
Northern   "       "       .....	196,121	24	
Central   "   North London ...	225,330	43	
Northern   "       "       .....	353,642	32	
Central   "   West London ...	371,091	21	
Western   "       "       .....	483,298	25	
Northern   "       "       .....	287,220	25	
Central   "   South London ...	387,248	47	
Eastern   "       "       .....	362,333	32	
Southern   "       "       .....	435,667	22	
Western   "       "       .....	369,241	27	
	4,209,170	31	Average per cent. of poverty.

It will be seen that the highest percentage of poverty in any one block is in South London; an area with about 33,000 inhabitants lying between Blackfriars and London Bridge having close upon 68 per cent. of poor. The next in order is also to be found south of the Thames at Greenwich, where an area with 31,000 has fully 65 per cent. North London follows with nearly 61 per cent. in the neighbourhood of Goswell Road, and East London stands fourth on the list with 59 per cent. in a part of Bethnal Green.

Again, if in each case we take three contiguous areas, we get in Southwark and Bermondsey a population of 90,000 to 100,000, of whom 60 per cent. are poor; and at Greenwich for a similar number, 54 per cent.; while Bethnal Green follows with 51 per cent., and North London takes the fourth place with 48 per cent.

If we go still further and double the unit, South London still stands first with a population of nearly 200,000 between Blackfriars and Horselydown, of whom 52 per cent. are poor; North and East London stand equal at 46 per cent., with in each case about 190,000 people. Greenwich tested in this way falls to 41 per cent., at which rate East London finds a further 180,000 north and east of Bethnal Green.

Finally, to exhaust the comparison in this direction, we find in the central part of South London a population of about 400,000, of whom 47 per cent. are poor, and in the central part of East London nearly as many, of whom 44 per cent. are poor; while North London at or about its centre has 225,000 with 43 per cent. of poverty. If we then deal with what is left we find that South London, East London and North London are all alike in having a second district, stretching in the one case to Woolwich, and in the others to Bromley and Holloway respectively, with about 350,000 inhabitants, in each of whom 32 per cent. are poor. Adding these districts together we get, as a measure of extended poverty, in South London, 750,000 people between Blackfriars and Woolwich, of whom 40 per cent. are poor; in East London 700,000 between the City boundary and Bow, of whom 38 per cent. are poor, and in North London 600,000 of whom (also) 38 per cent. are poor. The difference is not very great, but at every point South London takes the lead in this miserable competition. But while South and North London have completed their muster, East London has still a battalion in reserve. Stratford, West Ham, Leyton and Walthamstow, though not within the Registrar-General's boundaries, are geographically, and in some sense socially,\* as much part of East London as Greenwich and Woolwich are of South London. They

\* They are within the Metropolitan Police District.



contain some 300,000\* inhabitants who are perhaps no less poor on the average than the 700,000 already counted.

The tables which follow show in order of poverty :

- (1) The compound areas with about 90,000 inhabitants, for all London.
- (2) The compound blocks with about 30,000 inhabitants, where there is not less than 40% of poverty.
- (3) The School-board blocks, out of which the larger areas are built up, wherever there is not less than 55% of poverty.

In each case the percentage by class is given as well as the total percentage above and below the "line of poverty," so that it may be possible to compare the poverty of these areas according to its intensity as well as according to its extent.

In the West End there are six separate districts, each containing much poverty, partly lost in the figures given in our tables, because well-to-do or wealthy streets lying contiguous and so included in the same School Board block, reduce the percentage of poverty shown. These six patches of poverty are Westminster, Lisson Grove, The Lock Bridge (Westbourne Park), Kensal New Town, St. Clement's Road, and Wandsworth Bridge Road. Details regarding them are given in a subsequent chapter. Elsewhere in London the poor parts are fairly represented by the areas of tabulation adopted.

\* POPULATION OF WEST HAM REGISTRATION DISTRICT.

—	1871.	1881.	1890 Estimated.
Stratford .....	23,286	38,606	40,000
West Ham .....	44,642	101,053	160,000
Leyton .....	15,913	32,430	60,000
Walthamstow .....	15,301	28,869	50,000
	99,142	200,958	310,000



*Proportion of Classes in Blocks with about 90,000 inhabitants.*

Blocks on map.	Locality.	Population.	A.		B.		C and D.		Total of Poor.		E and F.		G and H.		Total above Poverty.	
			Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
86	Southwark and Bermondsey.....	98,352	4	17	39	60	36	4	36	4	36	4	4	40	40	
92	Greenwich to Rotherhithe.....	97,489	1	17	36	54	42	4	42	4	42	4	4	46	46	
56	Bethnal Green .....	89,677	3	18	30	51	45	4	45	4	45	4	4	49	49	
40	Goswell Road to Essex Road .....	93,245	2	17	29	48	47	5	47	5	47	5	5	52	52	
23	Somers Town and Barnsbury .....	96,752	1	11	35	47	48	5	48	5	48	5	5	53	53	
42	Farringdon Road to Gray's Inn Road.....	96,399	2	15	27	44	48	8	48	8	48	8	8	56	56	
93	Waterloo and St. George's Circus .....	96,095	2	11	31	44	49	7	49	7	49	7	7	56	56	
61	Great Eastern Street and Hoxton, E.....	90,366	1	9	33	43	54	3	54	3	54	3	3	57	57	
73	St. George's-in-the-East and Commercial Street to City .....	97,539	2	12	28	42	53	5	53	5	53	5	5	58	58	
18	Ladbroke Grove and Kensal Town.....	107,601	2	7	33	42	44	14	44	14	44	14	14	58	58	
82	Bromley (W.) and Burdett Road .....	93,122	1	16	23	40	55	5	55	5	55	5	5	60	60	
101	South Lambeth and Battersea Park.....	94,155	1	6	33	40	54	6	54	6	54	6	6	60	60	
60	Haggerston and Green Street .....	89,475	—	11	27	38	58	4	58	4	58	4	4	62	62	
3	Soho to Westminster Abbey .....	94,456	1	16	20	37	50	13	50	13	50	13	13	63	63	
94	Lambeth and Lorrimer Square .....	92,222	—	8	29	37	54	9	54	9	54	9	9	63	63	
80	West India Docks and East India Road.....	85,213	1	14	21	36	59	5	59	5	59	5	5	64	64	
121	Nunhead and Peckham New Town.....	91,940	1	6	29	36	50	14	50	14	50	14	14	64	64	
114	Walworth and South Bermondsey .....	100,579	—	6	27	33	63	4	63	4	63	4	4	67	67	
47	Islington, St. James's Road, and Cattle Market .....	92,588	1	7	24	32	50	18	50	18	50	18	18	68	68	
117	Surrey Canal and Camberwell .....	99,043	—	6	26	32	60	8	60	8	60	8	8	68	68	
105	Old Battersea and Putney.....	90,701	—	6	26	32	52	16	52	16	52	16	16	68	68	

—	1	—	City .....	42,561	1	6	24	31	54	15	69
33	35	36	Camden Town (W.) and Kentish Town .....	96,937	—	6	24	30	57	13	70
67	66	65	Hackney Wick and London Fields .....	87,283	1	12	17	30	57	13	70
53	55	54	Lower Holloway and Hornsey Road, Upper Holloway ..	93,362	1	6	21	28	43	29	72
129	128	130	Plumstead and Woolwich Common .....	99,351	—	4	24	28	62	10	72
77	75	76	Stepney Green to Regent's Canal and Mile End Old Town .....	89,433	1	8	18	27	67	6	73
14	15	21	Hammersmith and Wormwood Scrubs .....	98,740	—	4	22	26	38	36	74
84	85	—	Bow Road (N.) and Old Ford .....	60,593	1	6	18	25	68	7	75
26	32	39	Lisson Grove and Belsize Park .....	100,889	1	6	18	25	50	25	75
124	126	125	New Cross and Brockley Hill .....	100,311	—	7	18	25	51	24	75
24	25	27	Tottenham Court Road and Baker Street to Edgware Road .....	95,115	1	5	18	24	53	23	76
44	—	—	Russell Square.....	35,686	1	9	13	23	51	26	77
5	7	9	Victoria Street and Chelsea .....	90,570	1	2	19	22	58	20	78
31	30	28	St. Peter's Park and Tyburnia .....	95,714	—	1	21	22	53	25	78
68	70	69	Lower Clapton and De Beauvoir Town .....	108,838	1	7	12	20	49	31	80
34	37	38	Camden Town (East) and Hampstead .....	89,394	1	5	14	20	52	28	80
133	134	—	Sydenham and Penge .....	58,439	0·5	4·5	15	20	40	40	80
11	12	13	West Brompton and Walham Green .....	93,723	1	5	12	18	46	36	82
108	109	110	Wandsworth Common to Tooting and Streatham .....	92,132	—	2	16	18	49	33	82
99	100	103	Clapham Park and Lavender Hill .....	92,233	—	3	13	16	57	27	84
51	50	—	Highbury and Stoke Newington .....	70,940	—	3	13	16	53	31	84
96	97	98	Kennington and Herne Hill.....	93,399	—	1·5	13·5	15	55	30	85
29	17	16	Westbourne Grove and Kensington .....	87,520	—	1	14	15	44·5	40·5	85
132	131	—	Lewisham and Eltham .....	65,182	—	1	12	13	47	40	87
111	122	120	West Norwood and Peckham .....	92,846	—	1	8	9	44	47	91
10	8	4	Cromwell Road and Mayfair .....	90,950	—	—	5	5	55	40	95
Total.....				4,209,170							

*Thirty Thousand Blocks with more than 40 per cent. of Poverty.*

Block on Map.	Locality.	Popula- tion.	Persons to an acre.	A.	B.	C and D.	Total of Poor.	E and F.	G and H.	Total above Poverty.
				Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
86	Southwark .....	33,173	188	6·3	20·3	41·3	67·9	28·8	3·3	32·1
127	Greenwich .....	31,380	213	0·6	19·9	44·7	65·2	31·1	3·7	34·8
41	Goswell Road .....	30,971	236	3·7	23·7	33·5	60·9	38·2	0·9	39·1
56	Bethnal Green (W.) .....	28,701	276	3·2	29·3	26·2	58·7	37·7	3·6	41·3
88	Bermondsey .....	33,147	143	3·4	12·9	39·8	56·1	37·2	6·7	43·9
45	King's Cross .....	28,875	239	1·1	11·9	42·2	55·2	41·8	3·0	44·8
89	Horselydown .....	32,032	184	1·1	17·8	36·1	55·0	43·1	1·9	45·0
82	Bromley (W.) .....	30,145	202	1·4	27·1	23·0	51·5	46·5	2·0	48·5
92	Rotherhithe.....	33,323	120	0·9	17·3	31·7	49·9	45·3	4·8	50·1
74	St. Katherine's Docks .....	28,990	181	1·2	17·8	30·4	49·4	46·8	3·8	50·6
72	From Whitechapel to Bethnal Green...	33,973	279	5·0	11·0	33·1	49·1	45·8	5·1	50·9
43	Holborn .....	29,430	157	3·6	18·2	27·1	48·9	44·5	6·6	51·1
63	Hoxton (East).....	30,510	253	1·3	11·0	36·1	48·4	50·2	1·4	51·6
18	Ladbroke Grove .....	36,236	119	4·3	9·9	33·2	47·4	33·2	19·4	52·6
42	Farringdon Road .....	34,266	297	0·8	15·6	30·9	47·3	49·9	2·8	52·7
73	St. George's-in-the-East .....	34,989	352	1·8	12·1	32·6	46·5	47·9	5·6	53·5
123	West Deptford .....	32,786	93	0·5	14·9	30·6	46·0	50·9	3·1	54·0
6	Westminster Abbey .....	31,523	172	2·3	15·4	28·2	45·9	49·8	4·3	54·1
104	Battersea Park .....	28,740	152	0·5	8·3	36·8	45·6	50·6	3·8	54·4
118	Peckham New Town .....	27,253	131	0·9	12·8	31·8	45·5	49·3	5·2	54·5
93	Waterloo .....	31,690	167	0·5	10·4	34·5	45·4	49·1	5·5	54·6
40	Bunhill Fields.....	30,991	199	0·9	13·4	30·7	45·0	49·4	5·6	55·0
112	Newington .....	35,008	166	5·6	12·5	26·3	44·4	47·9	7·7	55·6

57	Bethnal Green (East).....	27,003	59	0.7	14.3	29.2	44.2	52.1	3.0	55.8
19	Notting Hill.....	38,905	145	0.9	6.5	36.6	44.0	37.4	18.6	56.0
52	St. James's Rd. and Cattle Market.....	31,795	153	1.7	9.9	32.2	43.8	46.1	10.1	56.2
46	Barnsbury .....	32,166	181	1.3	12.9	29.2	43.4	49.4	7.2	56.6
80	West India Docks .....	26,778	55	1.6	12.5	29.1	43.2	52.1	4.7	56.8
3	Soho.....	32,148	264	—	20.6	21.8	42.4	53.6	4.0	57.6
23	Somers Town .....	35,711	166	1.0	6.9	34.4	42.3	51.6	6.1	57.7
87	St. George's Circus .....	29,397	217	1.3	9.5	31.1	41.9	51.8	6.3	58.1
101	South Lambeth .....	33,718	122	0.9	8.3	32.5	41.7	47.4	10.9	58.3
30	Maida Vale .....	32,235	152	0.5	2.7	37.7	40.9	41.2	17.9	59.1
121	Nunhead .....	31,186	18	0.5	6.0	34.1	40.6	48.0	11.4	59.4
62	Hoxton (West) .....	28,039	217	1.4	9.2	29.8	40.4	55.8	3.8	59.6
58	Green Street .....	30,490	191	0.5	15.1	24.5	40.1	56.1	3.8	59.9
36	Kentish Town.....	42,070	166	0.5	6.1	33.4	40.0	53.6	6.4	60.0

The number of persons to an acre is so much affected by the space occupied by docks, warehouses, railways and minor open spaces as to be of little value as a test of crowded dwellings. But it may be said that even such open spaces as these are better than none. They at least are free from human exhalations. It will be seen from the above figures that in St. George's-in-the-East human beings are thickest on the ground and that the whole district northwards to Bethnal Green and Hoxton (blocks 72, 63, and 56) come closely after. Of crowded districts there are also Farringdon Road, Goswell Road, and King's Cross to the North, and Soho in Central London, in all of which every description of open space is lacking. South London from one cause or other has nowhere so many people to the acre as are to be found in many places north of the Thames.



*School Board Blocks with over 55 per cent. of Poverty.*

Block on Map.	Locality.	Population.	A.  Per cent.	B.  Per cent.	C and D.  Per cent.	Total of Poor.  Per cent.	E and F.  Per cent.	G and H.  Per cent.	Total above Poverty.  Per cent.
125e.	Part of Brookley (West)	491	—	14.1	82.2	96.3	2.7	1.0	3.7
41b.	" Goswell Road District	4,351	13.7	53.0	18.5	85.2	13.9	0.9	14.8
88f.	" Bermondsey	8,136	7.7	15.7	57.5	80.9	13.1	6.0	19.1
41a.	" Goswell Road District	719	11.1	23.4	44.8	79.3	16.6	4.1	20.7
21c.	" Wormwood Scrubbs	2,265	—	13.2	65.6	78.8	—	21.2	21.2
86e.	" Southwark	9,320	11.2	17.4	50.1	78.7	18.1	3.2	21.3
86d.	" "	8,208	9.6	37.3	30.3	77.2	17.4	5.4	22.8
56b.	" Bethnal Green (West)	9,287	4.8	40.8	29.8	75.4	22.1	2.5	24.6
101a.	" South Lambeth	4,774	4.3	23.9	47.1	75.3	21.8	2.9	24.7
88d.	" Bermondsey	2,784	6.3	22.9	45.0	74.2	7.8	18.0	25.8
123d.	" West Deptford	4,954	—	44.6	28.7	73.3	23.6	3.1	26.7
127a.	" Greenwich	4,681	0.9	32.4	39.7	73.0	26.9	0.1	27.0
43e.	" Holborn	4,480	1.8	25.9	44.5	72.2	21.3	6.5	27.8
92a.	" Rotherhithe	4,459	3.4	28.4	39.1	70.9	27.1	2.0	29.1
92g.	" "	1,629	1.4	38.3	28.8	68.5	31.5	—	31.5
89c.	" Horselydown	5,733	0.7	15.9	51.8	68.4	30.4	1.2	31.6
127b.	" Greenwich	9,979	0.2	18.5	48.6	67.3	23.9	8.8	32.7
126b.	" South Deptford	5,779	3.1	29.9	34.2	67.2	23.2	9.6	32.8
92c.	" Rotherhithe	8,895	0.9	28.3	37.8	67.0	32.6	0.4	33.0
108i.	Edgington Road, Streatham Common	433	—	—	66.9	66.9	—	33.1	33.1
18c.	Part of Ladbroke Grove	13,834	6.2	13.4	47.1	66.7	31.8	1.5	33.3
48f.	" Essex Road District	12,468	6.2	27.3	32.7	66.2	31.8	2.0	33.8



86b.	Part of Southwark . . . . .	3,684	2.9	13.1	49.7	65.7	33.4	0.9	34.3
40c.	" Bunhill Fields . . . . .	9,336	1.8	16.1	45.5	63.4	34.2	2.4	36.6
89a.	" Horselydown . . . . .	3,213	1.1	23.3	38.7	63.1	29.1	7.8	36.9
41d.	" Goswell Road District . . . . .	9,683	2.3	19.4	40.5	62.2	37.4	0.4	37.8
127c.	" Greenwich . . . . .	14,669	0.9	19.1	42.2	62.2	35.9	1.9	37.8
106b.	" Wandsworth . . . . .	9,365	1.4	13.9	46.0	61.3	37.7	1.0	38.7
23b.	" Somers Town . . . . .	10,695	—	4.5	55.8	60.3	34.9	4.8	39.7
32d.	" St. John's Wood . . . . .	15,932	3.4	2.9	53.9	60.2	29.1	10.7	39.8
80c.	" West India Docks . . . . .	2,669	1.5	16.5	42.2	60.2	38.8	1.0	39.8
89e.	" Horselydown . . . . .	7,384	1.2	15.2	43.6	60.0	39.3	0.7	40.0
86a.	" Southwark . . . . .	7,153	1.9	18.8	38.5	59.2	39.9	0.9	40.8
92e.	" Rotherhithe . . . . .	1,603	—	19.5	39.5	59.0	38.2	2.8	41.0
127d.	" Greenwich . . . . .	2,051	—	3.3	55.4	58.7	41.3	—	41.3
46a.	" Barnsbury . . . . .	19,571	1.9	18.9	37.6	58.4	39.1	2.5	41.6
118a.	" Peckham New Town . . . . .	8,727	2.7	18.8	36.8	58.3	41.7	—	41.7
116b.	" Camberwell . . . . .	10,843	0.5	14.0	43.6	58.1	34.6	7.3	41.9
74b.	" St. Katherine's Docks District . . . . .	7,004	1.6	21.5	34.6	57.7	38.8	3.5	42.3
48a.	" Essex Road District . . . . .	1,432	2.3	18.8	36.5	57.6	40.4	2.0	42.4
61a.	" Great Eastern Street District . . . . .	1,675	0.1	15.1	42.2	57.4	40.9	1.7	42.6
104b.	" Battersea Park . . . . .	10,484	0.7	13.9	42.8	57.4	40.5	2.1	42.6
45b.	" King's Cross . . . . .	21,427	0.6	8.4	47.7	56.7	41.8	1.5	43.3
63b.	" Hoxton (East) . . . . .	13,530	2.7	11.3	42.6	56.6	42.5	0.9	43.4
95b.	" Vauxhall . . . . .	7,454	0.6	21.5	34.3	56.4	39.7	3.9	43.6
58b.	" Green Street (Bethnal Green) District . . . . .	8,122	1.1	30.5	24.4	56.0	39.4	4.6	44.0
19c.	" Notting Hill . . . . .	12,019	—	3.4	52.6	56.0	27.8	16.2	44.0
93c.	" Waterloo . . . . .	10,064	0.3	10.5	45.1	55.9	37.8	6.3	44.1
20a.	" Kensal Town . . . . .	11,906	0.6	10.9	44.2	55.7	43.9	0.4	44.3
2a.	" Strand District . . . . .	6,486	3.2	30.8	21.5	55.5	38.9	5.6	44.5

## CHAPTER III.

### CLASSIFICATION AND DESCRIPTION OF STREETS.

---

SEVEN shades of colour are used on the map to indicate the general condition of the inhabitants of each street. These colours correspond with the classification of the people as given in Chapter II.

*Black.*—The lowest grade (corresponding to Class A), inhabited principally by occasional labourers, loafers, and semi-criminals—the elements of disorder.

*Dark Blue.*—Very poor (corresponding to Class B), inhabited principally by casual labourers and others living from hand to mouth.

*Light Blue.*—Standard poverty (corresponding to Classes C and D) inhabited principally by those whose earnings are small (say 18s to 21s a week for a moderate family), whether they are so because of irregularity of work (C) or because of a low rate of pay (D).

*Purple.*—Mixed with poverty (usually C and D with E and F, but including Class B in many cases).

*Pink.*—Working class comfort. (Corresponding to Classes E and F, but containing also a large proportion of the lower middle class of small tradesmen and Class G.) These people usually keep no servant.

*Red*.—Well-to-do; inhabited by middle-class families who keep one or two servants.

*Yellow*.—Wealthy; hardly found in East London and little found in South London; inhabited by families who keep three or more servants, and whose houses are rated at £100 or more.

Here and there an attempt has been made to give a little more elasticity to the system by combining the colours. Dark blue in especial will frequently be found with a black line upon it, to indicate that great poverty is mixed with something worse; or a red line has been introduced in connection with pink or yellow to show the presence of a middle-class element amongst working class or wealthy surroundings. At best the graphic expression of an almost infinite complication and endless variety of circumstance, cannot but be very imperfect, and a rainbow of colour could not accomplish it completely. But in order to group and mass our information we need to sink minor differences, and to this end the shades and combinations used may be taken as representing so many types of streets inhabited for the most part by the corresponding classes of people.

## SUMMARY OF STREETS IN NORTH-EAST LONDON.

(*City, Finsbury, Hackney and Tower Hamlets S.B. Divisions.*)

—	Streets.	Inhabitants.	May be compared with.
Black . . .	64	11,625	} Class A. . 18,442 „ B. . 154,553 „ C and D. 335,825 „ E and F. 765,561
Dark Blue + Black	66	21,823	
Dark Blue . .	507	76,024	
Light Blue . .	1,176	207,551	
Purple . . .	1,208	391,928	
Pink . . .	1,998	473,307	} „ G and H. 170,277
Pink + Red . .	389	94,999	
	5,408	1,277,257	1,274,381
Red . . .	not counted	—	} „ G and H. 170,277
Yellow . . .	„	—	
—	—	—	1,444,658

SUMMARY OF STREETS IN NORTH-WEST LONDON.  
(*Chelsea, Marylebone and Westminster S.B. Divisions.*)

—	Streets.	Inhabitants.	May be compared with.
Black . . .	21	4,860	} Class A. . 8,950
Dark Blue + Black	29	16,080	
Dark Blue . . .	148	35,210	
Light Blue . . .	610	117,375	} „ B. . 61,599
Purple . . .	630	271,040	
Pink . . .	1,633	342,130	} „ C and D. 234,110
Pink + Red . . .	216	65,180	
	3,287	851,875	
Red . . .	not counted		} „ E and F. 603,453
Yellow . . .	„	—	
			908,112
			„ G and H. 301,911
			1,210,023

SUMMARY OF STREETS IN SOUTH-EAST LONDON.  
(*Southwark, East Lambeth and Greenwich S.B. Divisions.*)

—	Streets.	Population.	May be compared with.
Black . . .	40	9,199	} Class A. . 8,813
Dark Blue + Black	11	3,213	
Dark Blue . . .	286	40,773	
Light Blue . . .	668	125,223	} „ B. . 73,970
Purple . . .	853	266,419	
Pink . . .	1,273	346,726	} „ C and D. 239,853
Pink + Red . . .	189	43,012	
	3,320	834,565	
Red . . .	not counted	—	} „ E and F. 487,054
Yellow . . .	„	—	
			809,690
			„ G and H. 158,125
			967,815

SUMMARY OF STREETS IN SOUTH-WEST LONDON.  
(*West Lambeth S.B. Division.*)

—	Streets.	Population.	May be compared with.
Black . . .	3	1,219	} Class A. . 1,340
Dark Blue + Black	12	6,541	
Dark Blue . . .	73	13,860	
Light Blue . . .	253	58,089	} „ B. . 26,716
Purple . . .	457	147,959	
Pink . . .	702	198,872	} „ C and D. 128,262
Pink + Red . . .	207	54,004	
	1,707	480,544	
Red . . .	not counted	—	} „ E and F. 311,058
Yellow . . .	„	—	
			467,376
			„ G and H. 119,298
			586,674



SUMMARY OF LONDON.

—	Streets.	Population.	May be compared with.
Black . . .	128	26,903	Class A. . 37,610
Dark Blue + Black	118	47,657	} „ B. . 316,834
Dark Blue . .	1,014	165,867	
Light Blue . .	2,707	508,238	} „ C and D. 938,293
Purple . . .	3,148	1,077,346	
Pink . . .	5,606	1,361,035	} „ E and F. 2,166,503
Pink + Red . .	1,001	257,195	
	13,722	3,444,241	3,459,240
Red . . .	not counted.	—	} „ G and H. 749,930
Yellow . . .	„	—	
—	—	—	4,209,170

[NOTE.—It is noteworthy that the multiple needed to turn number of children of school age into total of population, which is 4·6 for the whole of London and also for the S.W. district, requires to be 5 for N.W. and sinks to 4·2 for N.E. and S.E. The poorer the districts the larger are the families on the whole.]

The preceding tables enumerate the streets of each colour (from Black up to Pink with a Red line), in each quarter of London and for the whole of London, with an estimate of the numbers of their inhabitants. Side by side with these figures, for the sake of comparison, are repeated those which give the classification of the people in the same divisions. It will be seen that in all we count 13,722 streets (or parts of streets, for where a street runs through from block to block it is counted twice). The estimated population of these streets falls slightly short of that of classes A to F, showing that on the balance there is a small proportion of the upper artisan class to be found in the unenumerated streets.

In comparing the one set of figures with the other it must be borne in mind that *every* street is more or less mixed in character, that the Black streets taken together contain some of *every* class from A to F, or (including the publicans) even G; the same thing is true of the Pink streets also, and even those with a red line are not without a sprinkling of poor people mixed with the better-to-do.



For those of my readers who are intimately acquainted with any district of London in which streets are to be found which take the various colours on our map, description is hardly needed. There are no doubt differences; there is dark blue and dark blue, light blue streets vary in character, and there are many shades of black; but the likeness far transcends the differences, and those who know well how the poor or vicious live in one district know pretty well how they live in all other districts. I would even venture to say that the conditions of life do not vary very much in any of our great cities, and the picture I shall try to give for the benefit of those who have no such detailed personal experience may, I believe, be taken as applicable in Liverpool or Manchester or Birmingham, and even in the poorer parts of much smaller places. Everywhere the same conditions repeat themselves, and although crossing the sea makes a difference, the description of a city slum in New York might almost serve as an illustration to this book.\*

Parish by parish a very large part of London is visited systematically, and by the kind assistance of the clergy and

\* "The roadway and sidewalks and doorsteps swarmed with children; women's heads seemed to show at every window. In the basements over which flights of high stone steps led to the tenements were shops in proportion to the small needs of a poor neighbourhood. Ash barrels lined the sidewalks and garbage heaps filled the gutters; teams of all trades stood idly about; a pedlar of cheap fruit urged his cart through the street and mixed his cry with the joyous screams and shouts of the children and the scolding gossiping voices of the women; the bulky blue figure of a policeman defined itself at the corner; a drunkard zig-zagged down the sidewalk towards him. It was not the abode of the extremest poverty, but of a poverty as hopeless as any in the world, transmitting itself from generation to generation, and establishing conditions of permanency to which human life adjusts itself as it does to those of some incurable disease like leprosy. . . . I must say they don't seem to mind it. I have not seen a jollier crowd anywhere in New York. They seemed to have forgotten death a little more completely than any of their fellow-citizens."—From "A Hazard of New Fortunes," by W. D. Howells.

their lay-helpers, I have obtained a detailed description of a number of streets of various colours sufficient to serve as samples. There are over seventy of these streets, viz. :

5	selected from those coloured			Black.
5	„	„	„	Dark Blue with Black.
21	„	„	„	Dark Blue.
20	„	„	„	Light Blue.
20	„	„	„	Purple.
4	„	„	„	Pink.

The particulars for the most part include every house in each street with a short account of every family in each house, or where only part of a street has been done care was taken to chose a section complete, as far as it goes, and fairly representative. In addition to the sample streets we have similar particulars concerning eight blocks of buildings of various types from dark blue to pink (see next chapter).

In the statistical tables at the end of this chapter the complete figures for the sample streets are given, but the details are too lengthy for publication in full, and are greatly cut down in the following pages. Even so they are rather bulky, but in no other way has it seemed possible to tell the story of the streets as completely as is needed for my purpose. It will be understood that where names are given to the streets or the people described, they are, for obvious reasons, not the real ones, those of the streets which immediately follow being the only exception. In the invention of new names the flavour of the originals has been retained so far as possible. Scotch or Irish names have been replaced by others of the same character, Welsh by Welsh, and any of foreign nationality by the like. With English names similar care has been taken. Nothing is more remarkable or more characteristic of our race than the prevalence of old family names among the poorest classes. In every workhouse, it is said, as well as in manor house and parsonage, you find these names.

## STREETS COLOURED BLACK.

## SHELTON STREET.

On the map of Central London there is a group of streets coloured black of which I need not hesitate to give the true names. They are Macklin Street, Shelton Street, and Parker Street, all running out of Drury Lane to the east. Shelton Street has been entirely destroyed, and its place will know it no more. I myself have never seen it as it is here described, but only as a yellow strip of broken bricks and crumbling mortar intermixed with here and there a tattered piece of wall paper. The open space was railed across near Drury Lane, but the gates were open and I could walk through to the other end where there is still the exit, through upright iron bars and down stone steps, into Newton Street. On either side of the site of Shelton Street lie Parker Street and Macklin Street. Many of the houses in each have been pulled down and others are doomed. Before long little will be left standing of what did exist when my inquiry was made; moreover, in seeking particulars of these streets and their inhabitants I have gone back a little and I trust that nothing I shall say will hurt the susceptibilities of any of my readers. I propose to take the reader from end to end of each of these streets and some adjoining courts, and to tell the story, house by house, as I have received it from the City missionaries, who, the one for 11 and the other for 29 years, have made it their business to visit here, carrying the Gospel with impartiality to willing and unwilling ears. Shelton Street was just wide enough for a vehicle to pass either way, with room



between curb-stone and houses for one foot-passenger to walk; but vehicles would pass seldom, and foot-passengers would prefer the roadway to the risk of tearing their clothes against projecting nails. The houses, about forty in number, contained cellars, parlours, and first, second, and third floors, mostly two rooms on a floor, and few of the 200 families who lived here occupied more than one room. In little rooms no more than 8 ft. square, would be found living father, mother and several children. Some of the rooms, from the peculiar build of the houses (shallow houses with double frontage) would be fairly large and have a recess 6 ft. wide for the bed, which in rare instances would be curtained off. If there was no curtain, anyone lying on the bed would perhaps be covered up and hidden, head and all, when a visitor was admitted, or perhaps no shyness would be felt. Most of the people described are Irish Roman Catholics getting a living as market porters, or by selling flowers, fruit, fowls or vegetables in the streets, but as to not a few it is a mystery how they live. Drunkenness and dirt and bad language prevailed, and violence was common, reaching at times even to murder. Fifteen rooms out of twenty were filthy to the last degree, and the furniture in none of these would be worth 20s, in some cases not 5s. Not a room would be free from vermin, and in many life at night was unbearable. Several occupants have said that in hot weather they don't go to bed, but sit in their clothes in the least infested part of the room. What good is it, they said, to go to bed when you can't get a wink of sleep for bugs and fleas? A visitor in these rooms was fortunate indeed if he carried nothing of the kind away with him. The passage from the street to the back-door would be scarcely ever swept, to say nothing of being scrubbed. Most of the doors stood open all night as well as all day, and the passage and stairs gave shelter to many who were altogether homeless. Here the mother could stand with her baby, or sit with it on the stairs, or

companions would huddle together in cold weather. The little yard at the back was only sufficient for dust-bin and closet and water-tap, serving for six or seven families. The water would be drawn from cisterns which were receptacles for refuse, and perhaps occasionally a dead cat. At one time the street was fever-stricken; the mortality was high, and the authorities interfered with good effect so that the sanitary condition of the street just before it was destroyed was better than it had been formerly. The houses looked ready to fall, many of them being out of the perpendicular. Gambling was the amusement of the street. Sentries would be posted, and if the police made a rush the offenders would slip into the open houses and hide until danger was past. Sunday afternoon and evening was the hey-day time for this street. Every doorstep would be crowded by those who sat or stood with pipe and jug of beer, while lads lounged about, and the gutters would find amusement for not a few children with bare feet, their faces and hands besmeared, while the mud oozed through between their toes. Add to this a group of fifteen or twenty young men gambling in the middle of the street and you complete the general picture. House by house the story is as follows:—

*No. 2, Shelton Street.* The ground floor was last occupied by Mr. Mulvaney and his wife, without children at home. He was a shrewd Irishman and stepped in when it was known the houses were coming down—fitting up a small shop with a view to compensation. He is one to make money and stick to it. He collected the rents from other occupiers. The shop was on one side of the door and there was a small room opposite in which the Mulvaney's lived. At back there was a very small yard with water-tap, &c., below was a basement, which seems not to have been occupied. On the first floor, living in one large room (there being no division) were a man and wife with one daughter almost grown up. These people, like the Mulvaney's, were Irish Roman Catholics and not very friendly to



English or Protestants. Were inclined to drink but were tidier than some, and before Mulvaney's time the man acted as deputy in collecting the rents. In the second floor room lived some time since a widow and her three children, who made a fair living as a costermonger. Very clean and careful, and though a superstitious Irish Catholic, very friendly and kindly disposed towards the Protestant English missionary. After their mother's death the children opened a small greengrocer's shop in Drury Lane, and since that various people have occupied the room, coming and going and leaving no record behind. The third floor was divided into two rooms, very small in size, with roofs sloping to the floor, and here to the one side lived a Covent Garden porter with his wife and three young children, and on the other side two women. All these were Irish Roman Catholics. The market porter, though of the roughest, was disposed to be friendly, and the wife a good-humoured woman, though feckless. He had been a great drunkard, signing the pledge from time to time and after a while breaking out again. He would earn a little in the morning but would spend nearly all of it in drink before he came home, would then swear and knock his wife about. The room this family occupied, besides being very small, was destitute of comfort and as dirty as could be, and full of vermin, yet the walls were covered with little pictures. One of the children, a boy of five years, fell ill, and being taken to the hospital died on the way there in his mother's arms, arriving at the hospital past help. The parents had neither money nor goods, but borrowed sufficient for the wax candles to burn near the body and light the poor little soul to paradise. The two women in the adjoining room lived together for economy, sharing the rent which would be 2s 6d or 2s 3d. They bore the appearance of widows, and got their living by begging or picking up odds and ends in the street. Their room was almost destitute—all it contained would not fetch 2s—and dirty to the last degree. Both these women were fond of drink. One of them claimed to be an officer's widow, or rather that he had deserted her and she did not know whether he was living or dead. She was of French origin and was always called "Madam." She spoke beautiful English and

her appearance justified her tale to some extent. Such is the story of No. 2. Most of these people had been known to the missionary for many years and most of them received his visits kindly.

*No. 4, Shelton Street.* In one of the ground floor rooms lived Mr. and Mrs. Shane and their four children, the eldest of whom was fourteen at the end of the seven years during which my informant was acquainted with the family. Like so many more in this neighbourhood they were Irish and Catholics and costermongers. The man took cold from exposure and was groaning in bed for nearly nine months with pain in head as well as limbs, and finally died. During his illness and since his death Mrs. Shane obtained a living for them all by selling watercresses. This family was rather tidier than some, though the woman was given to drink at times and said she "believed in it when she could get it." An older boy "got into trouble" and coming out of prison was not long before he was re-committed. For the opposite room on the ground floor there are no particulars. The first floor consisted again of one large room and in it another family of Irish Roman Catholic costermongers. These were less friendly and would only open their door wide enough to afford a glimpse of wall covered with pictures and shut it again. The costermongers of this neighbourhood, it may be here observed, usually hire their barrows and borrow the money to purchase stock. They buy in the early morning at Covent Garden, bring home what they buy, sort it over, and then turn out to sell; work very hard early and late and for the most part drink hard. A risky trade, sometimes making, sometimes losing. Used to make more at it than now, it is said, because there are too many at it. They often go far a-field into the outskirts of London to sell.

On the second floor of No. 4, Shelton Street, there was, six months before the house was pulled down, a very sad case—a woman with four small children whose husband had gone to America. The children were without boots or food, and their mother had to lock them in the room while she went to sell oranges in the streets. On the third floor, in two small rooms, lived a family whose record goes back eleven years,—father,

mother, and two children now grown up. A powerfully built man, but, in consequence of drink, smitten four years ago with paralysis, helpless and almost speechless. He said he had been "a bad 'un," but he went to mass now and hoped to reach heaven. His wife was very friendly. After his father's paralysis the son, who was in a bakery in Camden Town, kept the family. The daughter had a child. Her husband, or the man with whom she lived, died soon after and the child died also. The rooms of this family were filthy, and the occupants lived like pigs. Both sights and smells were sickening.

Of the ground floor at *No. 6, Shelton Street*, and also of the first and second floors, there is nothing particular to note; families came and went, usually costers, almost always Irish Roman Catholics, living in dirt, fond of drink, alike shiftless, shifty and shifting. At the top, on the third floor, there lived for five years Mr. and Mrs. Casson and their four children, all in one small attic. The father earned little, but most of this he spent in drink; the mother was very clean and industrious, and careful, but the children were at times without food. In the adjoining room there lived also for some five years a man by the name of Smith, a carman at about 20s a week, and the woman with whom he lived. They were not married; the banns were once published, but on the morning when the marriage should have been solemnized the two fell out and he blackened her eye, so the ceremony had to be postponed, and, the man dying suddenly, it never came off. He was an Army Reserve man, and would drink, but in spite of all was not a bad fellow, and the woman, who had been married before, was also a nice person.

So far as we have gone it will be thought that "black is not so very black," but we have but just begun. I fear that I may tax the patience of my readers, but my aim is to show the street and its inhabitants as it existed—not selected cases, nor the mere resultant of an average, however carefully drawn out.

At *No. 8, Shelton Street*, in the parlour on the ground floor, lived Mrs. McConnell and her son, now a lad of eighteen, but



only half that age when they came to the house. Since her husband's death Mrs. McConnell had used the parlour as a little general shop which, with occasional charing, afforded her a very scanty living. She was Irish and a Romanist, but more steady and clean than most of her neighbours, and would say of them that they were the worst people out and would rob anybody. If she gave credit she doubtless found it difficult to collect her debts. The adjoining room was occupied by a family anything but clean and respectable. In this house each floor had two rooms, and each room, though some were hardly over 8 ft. square, contained a family. On the first floor there was for six years a Mrs. Varney and her daughter—a respectable woman, but now dead; she obtained a living by selling fowls. The adjoining room was occupied by another Irish coster family of the usual type. On the floor above in one room of the larger size lived Mrs. Rooney, a quiet and harmless old lady often short of bread or a cup of tea, but never complaining. In the same room was her daughter and three sickly children. No husband appeared, but there lodged with these women and children a man of about fifty—all living together. The old lady earned £2 at hopping three years ago, and had it taken from her on the way home. In the small room adjoining lived a mother with her daughter who gains a living for both as a prostitute. The mother is a notorious drunkard, very violent in her cups, often in trouble with the police, and struck the Protestant missionary in the face in defence of her holy mother of God, backing this up with oaths and foul language. The third floor was occupied by more Irish, and one of these, a powerful woman, took an active part in the attack on the missionary, driving him downstairs into the shelter of Mrs. McConnell's shop.

In the parlour at No. 8 a man one day told the visitor that, although a Catholic, he did not believe in anything but beer. A month later he wanted some beer and, according to common report, offered a pocket knife for fourpence; unable to sell it he, in a rage, said somebody should soon have it. Leaving Drury Lane he returned to Shelton Street, picked a quarrel with a

relative and stabbed him to the heart, killing him on the spot. He escaped hanging, but got ten years, of which he has completed the greater part.

At No. 10, on the ground floor, we find more Irish costers coming and going. On the floor above were a man and wife: he a martyr to rheumatism worn out with pain, and scarcely able to leave the house, and quite dependent on what she earns charing or nursing. Clean and steady people, the woman most industrious and careful, but, notwithstanding, they were often without the poorest meal. Of the second floor in this house we have no particulars. On the third floor there were, for several years, a man and woman living unmarried, of whom the woman showed a desire for marriage; but it proved that the man had a wife living, the woman a husband. This man, when sober, was most hard working and kind, but when drunk would beat the poor woman unmercifully. At last she left him, and in a few weeks her place was taken by another of sad and sullen appearance, but content it seemed to take the position the other had vacated, as this is now five years since, and they were living together up to the time the houses were pulled down, and, in all probability, are doing so still.

In the adjoining room on the third floor lived a man of fifty with a woman of about the same age. He was a market porter and drank the larger part of his earnings. Most of what came home to the woman went also immediately to the public-house. The man was never to be seen sober, but came rolling and roaring upstairs into his room. This couple lived like demons one with another, and made of their room a little hell on earth, and yet for years they lived together in this way.

As to No. 12, *Shelton Street*, we have no particular information, families coming and going, spending their money in drink and shifting their quarters to evade the rent. A trying house to visit. This applies also to the ground floor of No. 14. On the first floor, however, there lived a mother and two daughters, all very pious Roman Catholics. Both daughters worked in the City, and when one of them died the neighbours showed their respect by covering the coffin and almost filling the one



room in which these women lived with costly wreaths and quantities of beautiful flowers. Mr. and Mrs. Carpenter, on the second floor, had been there for many years. He was at home all day. A shrewd-looking fellow, however he may get his living; she is very quiet, clean, and respectable. On the third floor were the Sulivans—man, wife and four children—for four years. He brought home but little money, and it was all the woman could do to keep her children from nakedness and starvation. Room fairly clean. The eldest boy, now eighteen, is in prison, committed for several years. The woman deserves a better husband and son. How the man gains his living does not appear.

No. 16, *Shelton Street* is a common lodging-house running through to Parker Street, and entered from that side.

No. 18, *Shelton Street* has eight rooms. The parlours and the first floor have been occupied by a shifting set, usually a low class of costers whose wives and children sell watercresses or flowers in the streets. On the second floor lived Mr. and Mrs. Park with five children, and were there for at least eight years. The Parks were English Protestants; the man, now about forty-eight years old, served in India as a soldier, and was discharged in ill health suffering from pains in the head and loss of memory due to fracture of the skull and sun-stroke. His drinking habits also stand in his way. He does house-painting when he can get it, which is rare. The mother works hard for her children and attends every mothers' meeting she can, as well as every mission hall if possible. This brings her soup three or four times a week and sometimes a loaf of bread, and so the poor woman keeps her little room, and the children with bread. At Christmas she may contrive to get two or three Christmas dinners from different places. The room here was full of rubbish—all in it would not fetch 10s; the dirty walls covered with little pictures never taken down; vermin abounded and the stench was awful. These people have had seven children, but about eight years ago two of them, aged nine and eleven, going to school in the morning, have never been heard of since.

The rooms on the third floor were not easy of access—not that the doors offered much obstacle, as the panels were often broken in some drunken spree, and patch on patch was the result here and in many other rooms in this street. The only converse with the inhabitants would be, “I say, governor, ain’t you going to give us something afore you go?” followed by “We’ll break your—— neck if you don’t.” It was not easy to learn anything about these people. A man might be husband, or brother, or lodger; and to whom the children belonged it was impossible to say. Of such there would be many cases in the street.

*No. 20, Shelton Street.* In one of the parlours lived Burton, a man sixty years of age, very quiet and steady, who dragged on with his work (scavenger to Board of Works), a martyr to asthma. The woman with whom he lived drank. They had not a chair to sit on, and the room was most offensive, swarming with vermin. The missionary’s visits produced some effect here, the results being seen in cleanliness and steadiness of behaviour, but the man died shortly before the house was pulled down, and since then the woman wanders here and there getting a crust where she can.

The other parlour was occupied by the usual Irish costers. On the first floor lived Mr. and Mrs. Parker (who, like Burton, were English). Parker rented the whole house and lived in it for eleven years, also collected rents for three or four other houses in the street. A very decent man who had formerly been a pugilist, a hard hitter and hard drinker, as his battered face testified; now an abstainer and very respectable. His tenants took advantage of his kindness. On the second floor lived a Covent Garden porter, a widower of sixty, with a grown-up daughter. They had two small rooms but possessed only one bed. Above them lived a young woman of quiet manners and doubtful character, working occasionally at charing.

*No. 22, Shelton Street.* In one of the parlours lived the Draytons. Father, mother, son of nineteen, and daughters of sixteen and thirteen. They occupied this room for several years. The man was a repairer of old furniture; his bench

stood in the window covered with tools, bottles, and bits of furniture. The middle of the room was filled with old tables, desks, old chests of drawers, on or amongst which the meals were taken in some way, while at the back was one rude bed. The mother did nursing occasionally, the son and eldest daughter were at work and brought in something, the youngest daughter was delicate. The man had bad health and could not earn much. A quiet and sober though rather shiftless man, had apparently lost all heart, and only wished to be gone from a world of suffering. These people my informant knew for seven years.

In the other room on the ground floor lived poor old Mrs. Berry, a widow, paralyzed so as to be almost speechless. Still she pushed a barrow and sold mussels in the street, and would sometimes be out many hours and travel many miles to take a few pence. At other times she would do better. A quiet and contented woman, who kept her room tidy, and although Irish was anxious to pay her rent. The rest of the house was filled with Irish costers, no different from those already described.

*No. 24, Shelton Street.* In the parlour to the left lived a man, wife, and two children. He was a labourer, apparently hard working. She strong, and clean in room and person. Both drank at times, and when in drink the woman was desperate with fist and tongue. Known for about six years. To the right lived Mrs. O'Brien and her two boys, eleven, and eighteen years of age. She formerly lived on the third floor of No. 2. The husband was then, as he still is, in the infirmary, leaving his wife and the children (then young) in great poverty. She sold lights in the street, exciting pity with her suffering children. Nothing in the house when first known but a market basket, reversed to serve as table at which the children would kneel, and a bundle of something in the corner to serve for a bed. Out of this low state, eight years has seen this woman rise under good influence till at last her room is comfortable, and its inmates contented and happy. The boy now sells newspapers and makes his mother anxious by playing pitch-and-toss with the coppers.



The story of the first floor in this house is one of the utmost horror. A man whose name I will not even pretend to give, by trade a sweep, having three grown-up sons, lived with and abused a woman to her death. She was an orphan brought up in an industrial school and had lived with him at least eleven years, having one child by him. She was good to the other children, as well as to her own child, and kind to the man. Wife and mother in every sense, except legally. But he so knocked her about that she was never free from bruises. The sons as they grew up followed suit and her own child died. The man had regular pay—25s a week—and would spend nearly all in drink. He would swear at her, and kicks and blows would follow. One year she went hopping, taking one of the boys, and brought back £3. 10s, only to find the rent in arrears and bills run up for her to meet. She was got into a refuge, but he coaxed her back with fair words, with what result? My witness saw her as the end was drawing near. She was but just back from hospital, her head bound up, her arms black and blue. He warned the man, not for the first time, to be careful lest he should be guilty of murder. A few weeks later the poor woman lay on her bed unconscious, with blackened eye and face all bruised. She was dying. Her sister sought the priest and secured some holy water with which she was sprinkled, and so passed away. There was no prosecution, the neighbours shielded the man, and he too is now dead. The tie which bound together this man and woman till death—and this her death at his hands—was, though voluntary, strangely strong.

Of the second and third floors in this house nothing new can be said. They were occupied by Irish Roman Catholics unwilling to open their doors to a Protestant missionary, and ready to insult and abuse any others in the house who were willing to speak to him.

At No. 26, it is much the same kind of thing till we mount to the third floor. Here there lived for about four years a man and woman about twenty-six years old, who earned their living by making toys in the form of mice, which are contrived to run round a wooden plate by the manipulation

of a wire beneath. He making, and she for the most part selling, they might earn 2s a day. The man, strongly built and healthy, very intelligent in speech and speaking good English, though unable, so he said, to read or write—civil but cautious, and rather suspicious lest the visitor should be prying into trade secrets—room fairly clean, but one of the smallest; the roof sloping from the side walls at 2 ft. 6 in. from the floor. No bedstead but a bundle rolled in the corner to sleep upon. One rude chair and a dilapidated table at which they worked and ate. In this way these people lived year after year.

At No. 28, the parlours and first floor yield no record. On the second floor lived a widow with a son and two daughters—Irish Roman Catholics. The widow sold flowers and water-cresses and had a stand somewhere at the West End, where she obtained coal, bread, and soup-tickets from sympathetic ladies. Some of these tickets are only for those with a family of children, and the widow counted in her grown-up daughters. She was not visited, the distance being too great. A quiet woman, getting all she could, going without if she must and making no complaint, only that trade was bad. In her room (a fairly large one) lived besides herself her grown-up son, two daughters, and two or three children of one of these daughters. No husband was to be seen. Above on the third floor of this house lived a market porter, his wife and four children; this man, an Irish Catholic, was trained as a schoolmaster, became a great drunkard soon after his marriage, but was a powerful man earning good money in the market, of which his wife, a quiet and steady person, saw little. The cupboard often bare, the grate fireless, and the children without shoes or stockings; sometimes almost naked. The woman said she had lost all heart, and consequently the room was dirty as well as empty. The panels of the door told their story of drunken violence. The man belonged to a club in Clare Market (which no longer exists) called the "Guzzlers' Club," where for so much a week members could call for what they liked.

At No. 26, or 28, in the parlour there lived at one time a man by the name of Martin, with wife and three children. The



wife died, no doubt of cold and hunger accelerated by the brutal treatment of her husband, who bore a dreadful character for drunkenness. The eldest girl at the age of sixteen, soon after the mother's death, gave birth to a child.

At No. 30 the occupants of ground and first floors leave no record. On the second floor there lived Mrs. Hannaford, left a widow about twelve years since with five sons and daughters. One of the daughters is wife of the market porter just described as living at No. 28, and her unhappy marriage has been a source of much sorrow to the mother, who worked hard to bring up her children, and has been a quiet, sober woman. Mrs. Hannaford occupies one room; her children are all out in the world except a son, who lives at home, getting but little work. The other room on this floor was tenanted by Irish Romanists, who do not care to be visited. On the third floor lived Mr. O'Neill, a mender of shoes, an Irishman, a Catholic, and a very clever talker; knowing a little Latin and some Greek, and writing shorthand; a steady man, with whom the missionary has been acquainted for eleven years. He lived formerly on the third floor of No. 6. In the smaller room on this floor lived a very poor English family, father, mother, and four children. During the six years recorded these people have been "writhing" in poverty, the woman and children sickly from want of common necessities; the woman apparently steady; the man earns a sixpence where he can.

At No. 32, in the lower rooms, were the usual shifting class of people. At the top, on the third floor, Mrs. Makin, a widow, lived for two years. She gained her living by shelling peas, &c., in Covent Garden. A tidy person, very industrious and wretchedly poor, frequently without food or fire; would try to do her washing, and not know how to dry the things in winter. In the other room on this floor lived a market porter with a woman who sold oranges. About ten years they had lived so when, by the visitor's influence, they were married. The man, a pensioner, spends nearly all his pension in drink when he takes the money, and then is cruel to the woman, who does most to support the home.

At No. 34 there are eight rooms, and during the eleven years of the missionary's visits never can he remember finding a family in any one of them that could be called decent in person, room, or behaviour. Dirt, drink, and swearing prevailed with all.

The north side of Shelton Street contained houses and people of similar character.

Nos. 1 and 3, *Shelton Street*, were let in tenements, "ready furnished." They had eight rooms, as had most of the houses on this side of the street; rooms too small for a full-sized bed except in one direction; stairs very dark, with no light save from the rooms. The people who came here to live would stay only a few days or weeks at longest, and then others would come, so that in course of a year there would have been twenty or thirty families. As a rule they had no children, and were of doubtful character.

Nos. 5 and 7 were taken by the Middlesex Music Hall (the main entrance of which is in Drury Lane) to provide an extra exit. One family only lived in them.

Nos. 9 and 11 were eight-roomed houses, occupied by rough Irish costers—one family to each room, for the most part. Quarrels and noise were every-day affairs. The Irish make the most of a funeral or a wedding. A wedding at No. 11 led to a row which lasted several days, the friends of bride and bridegroom having come to blows, while the police interfered in vain.

At No. 13, in the parlour, lived Mrs. Grant, a Protestant, who took up the rents of the other rooms. All the rest in the house were Roman Catholics, constantly on the move.

One floor of No. 15 was occupied for twenty or thirty years by a Welshman, his wife and family, moral and industrious people. The children attended the Ragged Schools in Macklin Street (then Charles Street) for many years, and their prize-cards hung still on the walls. It is difficult to understand how quiet, decent people should be content to live and bring up their children in such surroundings.

Higher up in No. 15 lived a Protestant family, by name King, and above again some Catholics named Burke, of whom there are no particulars.

Nos. 17 to 19 were filled with Irish frequently shifting.

The parlour at No. 21 was kept as a shop for some time, but never succeeded. Money was so hard to get from the customers. On the second floor of this house lived Mr. Land, who was a resident of over thirty years' standing in the street, having lived in different houses. A man who liked a drop of drink.

Of No. 23 there are no recorded particulars.

At No. 25 lived a big man who was employed at one of the music-halls. A useful man in case of a row to "chuck out" the offenders. This man's house and family have been all along the ideal of the drunkard's home. On the second floor lived a well-known character, one Welsh, who sold shell-fish in the neighbouring streets and drank all he made. This man's home was even worse than that of the music-hall servant.

No. 27 was occupied by families of whom the missionary has no particulars.

No. 29 was tried as a common lodging-house for some years and failed, and was then taken by Miss Cons for a Coffee Palace and Club for young men, the first "Coffee Palace" established in London. It passed into other hands and failed, was then turned to some other purpose, and finally the house was shut up.

At No. 31 were private families of whom we have no records.

No. 33 the missionary remembers well. An Irishman tried to throw him downstairs, but desisted when the disturbance drew others from their rooms. At this house lived a Mrs. McCormick, who sold watercresses. Her husband drank himself to death, but she having brought up her children well, has followed them to Canada, where they are doing well.

At No. 35, on the top floor, lived Mr. Warner, a shoe doctor; he would buy old shoes and make them up with paper and paste and polish, and when necessary with leather, for sale in Dudley Street, where they might be bought for less than a shilling a pair, "warranted." Given fine weather they would stand a few weeks' wear, but go to pieces on the first wet day.

No. 37 was full of Irish Catholics.

No. 39, the last house on the north side, was the largest house in the street—occupied generally by Roman Catholics.



## PARKER STREET.

This street differs in some respects from Shelton Street, and, bad as Shelton Street is, Parker Street touches a little lower level. In Shelton Street the rooms were not taken by the night, but by the week. In Parker Street it was not unusual to let by the night, so that any man and woman who had met could find accommodation. Besides this there were six common lodging-houses—three for men and three for women, and both men and women would be of the most abandoned character. Over 100 men and about 80 women were sheltered, and these were so frequently under the influence of drink that at times these places, which at their best were but sinks of iniquity, became real hells upon earth. For these places no better title can be found than thieves or prostitutes' kitchens, but they afford shelter also for beggars. With these exceptions the inhabitants are much the same as those of Shelton Street. The street itself is, however, wider, and much of one side has been pulled down, the warehouses only being left on the north.

No. 2, *Parker Street* has two entrances, the one being numbered at 159, Drury Lane. One of the parlour floors is used for the sale of coal and coke, and the room over for living in. The people here moved from Shelton Street and have already been described. The other parlour was occupied by a series of people, none of them staying long enough for the missionary to become acquainted with them. The same thing was true of the floor above, but in one of those rooms there was at one time a Mrs. Carter, a woman with a fiery temper, almost fit to commit murder, and her husband has been in prison for ill-using her. She was, however, a clean, hard-working woman. These people were at times very poor. On the second floor to the right there were a man and woman (English) who had lived unmarried for fourteen years. There were no children; the room clean, with a few comforts. In the other room lived another pair in the same fashion; the woman very unhappy, brutally treated by the man, whom she says she would leave if she knew how else to get

a living. Such cases are not uncommon. The man was a drunkard. On the third floor lived an old woman and her son, Irish, who declined to be visited by a Protestant missionary.

No. 4, *Parker Street* contained only four rooms of good size, one on each floor. In the parlour was living till lately a woman of about thirty, but who looked nearer fifty, and who went by the name of Annie Chapman. She had been living for five years with a man, but in truth she got her living on the streets, and this room was the rendezvous of other fallen women. These women, when not in drink, would tell sad stories, and without exception had been under the influence of managers of rescue homes only to return to their old haunts, and those who knew them best looked on them as quite irreclaimable. What furniture there was in the room belonged to the landlord. The first floor room was generally occupied by prostitutes and was difficult for a man to visit. One of these girls, though only twenty-one, was remembered as having been many times in prison for shorter or longer periods. The second floor bore the same character. With these women lived men partly supported by the women and acting as "bully" when required. On the third floor there have been couples bearing the appearance of husband and wife, of clean and respectable demeanour, and the word husband has been used or a young man spoken of as son—a rare thing at this end of *Parker Street*.

No. 6, *Parker Street* had seven rooms, and was formerly a lodging-house for men of lowest type with few exceptions. It has since been let off furnished to couples, of whom not one in seven is married. In the parlour one day there was a sickly young woman with a child in her arms and shortly expecting another. She told a story of seduction and abandonment, and said she was ashamed to appeal to friends. She made a trifle by allowing other unfortunates to use her room.

In the first floor front lived a big Irish woman with two children, and with them a young woman of about twenty-seven years, whose life was that of a fallen woman—in the room all day and out at night. Six years ago this woman, who then lived in *Neal Street*, was lying helpless in bed suffering from the kick of a disappointed policeman, who was tried



and got nine months for the offence. The room was very dirty, and the Irish woman drank and swore. In the back room there was, as a rule, an unmarried couple or two or three fallen women living together. These people were frequently on the move. When occupied by the women the room would be open to all comers. About eighteen months since, a poor woman was one morning found dead just behind the door. She was discovered when the collector went for the rent, which he did every morning. Whether she died a natural death or not was never known and little troubled about. The staircase from the passage to the first floor is in almost total darkness at mid-day. The furniture let with the rooms is dilapidated and swarming with vermin.

On the second and third floors of this house the same life prevails.

No. 8 is a lodging-house for women. An underground room, reached by stairs from the entrance passage, serves as the common kitchen and is about 11 ft. by 13 ft. In this room is a large red-hot coke fire, and round about are rough tables and benches. Here at times may be seen about twenty women with matted hair, and face and hands most filthy, whose ragged clothing is stiff with accumulations of beer and dirt, their underclothing, if they have any at all, swarming with vermin. Many of them are often drunk. These women are thieves, beggars, and prostitutes. If any woman from the country is unfortunate enough to come amongst them she will surely be robbed of all that can be taken from her, and then, unfit for anything else, may fall to the level of the rest. Bad as this house is here described, it was worse in the days of the famous or infamous Mrs. Collins, a gigantic woman profusely bedecked with rings, who grew enormously fat and died weighing nearly 30 stone. She made her money it was said by combining the rôle of lodging-house keeper with that of procuress.

No. 10, *Parker Street* is arranged at the back as another lodging-house for women, kept by the same people who keep No. 8 and for the same class of inmates. If a visitor go among them he is sure to be asked for money, which, if given, would as surely go to the public-houses. Perhaps a quarrel will begin,

and in a minute one woman has knocked another down, while a third will seize the apparent victor by the hair and with the other hand fetch heavy blows on the face; others join the fray and the whole are swearing, foaming and fighting, while the cry of murder fills the air, and some of the more timid will crouch in corners afraid to move, mingling cries with prayers. A crowd gathers near the entrance, a policeman or two are attracted and after a time will succeed in putting down the row, perhaps hailing the worst offenders off to Bow Street. The front parlour of No. 10 is used in connection with the lodging-house, but the back parlour is let to a couple with a child who look more tidy and respectable than could be expected. On the first floor lives the keeper of the two lodging-houses just described, with her children, a son of twenty and a daughter of about fifteen. On the second floor are two rooms let at about a shilling a night and occupied in the usual way. So also with the third floor for the most part, but about a year ago there lived on this floor a Mrs. Claxton with a grown-up son and daughter. This woman had an appearance of having been once in a respectable position, and claimed to be the grand-daughter of a clergyman; the son was a coarse-looking fellow and the daughter had not the best of reputations. They lived for nine years in the street supported to a great extent by charity.

At No. 12 the ground floor is the stable and coachhouse of some neighbouring butcher. This house has lately been done up and is more respectably occupied than others in the street. On the first floor lives a Covent Garden porter and his wife, fond of drink and quarrelsome, but have their room in good condition comparatively. So, too, on the second floor there were till lately a father and son, bill posters, of good character. The man is a notorious Atheist, one who holds forth on behalf of his creed under railway arches, saying that if there be a God he must be a monster to permit such misery as exists. This man suffers from heart disease, and the doctor tells him that some day in his excitement he will drop down dead. His room is full of Freethought publications. On the third floor, and in the other rooms below, there lived people of orderly habits, the landlord being particular about his tenants.

No. 14 has been pulled down and re-built. The old house was one of the dirtiest in the street, the people in it of the very lowest and most degraded kind.

Between Nos. 14 and 18 are workshops for box-making, &c. No. 18 was formerly an eight-roomed house. A very bad house. In the front parlour there lived for two years an Irish woman whose eye had been nearly kicked out by her husband. A quiet-mannered woman, but too much at the door to keep her room tidy and rather given to drink. In the back room lived people scarce ever at home. The first floor front was usually occupied by prostitutes and their bullies. Some years ago a man flashily dressed was decoyed into this room, and soon found himself robbed of money and watch, while those who had robbed him slipped away. He ran into the street with an open knife in his hand and wild with rage, and stabbed the first person he met, a big lad from a lodging-house near by, in two places; the deputy of the lodging-house rushed out to take the lad's part and was himself stabbed in the back; both the wounded men were taken to King's College hospital. Their assailant proved to be a man of some means, and £20 was accepted as compensation by those he stabbed. The men and women who robbed him were never discovered, and did not return, and consequently the room stood empty for some days. On the second floor previous to the repairs there were for some months a tidy woman and three children who were very poor. The third floor front was mostly occupied by Irish costers or porters. There was one day a family, father, mother, and four children in this room without food or fire, or scarce any clothing, and not 5s worth of furniture. The husband a drunkard, the wife lost all heart. The room unbearable for dirt and stench. In the back room there has been a poor widow frequently without food. She gained her living at the market. We have been describing No. 18 as it was. It has undergone great alterations after standing empty a long time. It has been built out over the stabling next door, and may now have double as many rooms. These are let furnished, not, it must be feared, to people of any better character than elsewhere in the street.

Nos. 20 and 22 are workshops.



No. 24 is let in furnished apartments. It was in the occupation of a Mr. Holden, a quiet man who died about a year ago, and his widow carries on the business. The characters occupying the rooms are very low indeed; one of them, a girl of eighteen, mentioned that she had been confirmed by a Bishop but had been a b—— sight worse since. About two or three years ago a woman was found dead in the parlour of this house; she appeared to have been strangled.

No. 24 is the last house that can be mentioned on the south side. The rest of the buildings to Little Queen Street are warehouses or workshops.

No. 1 on the north side, at the corner of Drury Lane, does not really belong to Parker Street at all. The shop entrance is in Drury Lane, the house only enters from Parker Street, and with its inhabitants, who in position and appearance are much above the dwellers in Parker Street, we need not concern ourselves. Nos. 3 to 5 are warehouses. No. 7 has been pulled down. It had three floors and three rooms on each floor, except on the ground floor on which there were only two. In these lived Mr. and Mrs. Marwood and their three children. Marwood dealt in odds and ends and was probably fairly off; his wife suffered from paralysis and was almost speechless. No other family in the house occupied more than one room. On the first floor in the front room were some Irish costers. Father and mother besotted with drink, room in a filthy state, window panes stuffed with rags, children quite destitute, with hardly any clothes. The other rooms were similar but smaller, their occupants low and dirty. On the second floor lived a Covent Garden porter, his wife and four children, Irish Roman Catholics, as were all in this house; this family lived here for at least eight years. Their room was large and full of broken furniture; the room and its occupants alike dirty and offensive to sight and smell—love of drink prevailed. In the back room there lived a poor blind woman who had been there to the missionary's knowledge for ten years. A most quiet and inoffensive woman, often without food but never complained, and although blind kept her room more tidy than many in the house. As a rule she did her own scrubbing and dusting. She

received a small allowance from a Society for aiding the blind, and this made her, though a Catholic, very friendly to Protestants. At the time the miracles were said to be performed at Knock money was collected to send her there, and she was there eleven days but returned as she went. On the third floor were Mr. and Mrs. Maghull with an aged mother and two children, very quiet people. The room poorly furnished and themselves poorly clothed and fed. They gained their living selling in the street. The whole house for eleven years past was noted for poverty, dirt and drink, and deaths were at one time so frequent in it that it got a bad name for "ill luck."

*No. 9, Parker Street.* The last occupants of the parlours were two Salvation Army "Slum Sisters" who stayed for about six months. These girls had a hard struggle and so far as could be seen did not succeed—at any rate they went elsewhere. The first floor for the last two years was occupied by people making but a short stay. Previously there lived here a stone-mason and his wife and two daughters—Irish Roman Catholics. The man hard-working, the woman a great drunkard; the husband would trust her with no money. For several nights at a time she slept on the stairs, and through getting cold had to attend the hospital. On the second floor at the back, in a small room with window and door both broken, lived a family of Irish street sellers; father, mother, and three little children. One could see the room through the broken panel of the door, and the children would be either lying alone through the day, crying one against another, or with a dejected Irish woman who for a penny or a little bread would take charge of them. The room without a fire, the children without food. Mother either out selling or in a public-house. The father not visible at all. The mother would sometimes be lying on the bed apparently unconscious from drink. On the third floor to the front lived a widow aged sixty, an English Protestant, who gained her living by weaving carriage lace on an old loom. She was paid  $1\frac{1}{2}d$  a yard and could earn  $9d$  for a full day's work. Sitting to her loom had so cramped her that she was bowed together and could not lift herself up. She was sometimes without food or a cup of tea. She took both rooms on this floor, paying 4s or



4s 6d, and let the back room to another poor woman. Had lived here for seven years and been a widow for five. The room in a most dilapidated condition and the fire (like many in this street) smoked badly. In the third floor back was another widow who did a little needlework when she could get it. This was a small room with leaky, rattling window, and walls which did not appear to have been touched with a brush for a long time. This neglect sometimes arises from persons staying long and not liking to be disturbed. This poor woman had a dejected appearance and was often without fire or food and barely clad. She was brought up in a convent. Since her husband's death she has been in great depths of poverty, partly through shiftlessness. Has a trifle allowed her by a lady for rent and gets along as best she can.

No. 11, *Parker Street*. Here before the clearance lived in the parlours Mrs. Jackson, with a blind sister and sister's son. These people were English Protestants. Mr. Jackson was a cabman, and after his death, four years ago, the widow, who was seventy-three years old, lived here and supported herself and the rest by washing and mangling. Though clean people, their rooms, they complained, swarmed with bugs. These houses were not fit to exist. Close by the back parlour window was the closet, making the room most offensive, and the dust-bin and tap were close neighbours with the smallest space between them and the back door. On the first floor to the front lived Mrs. McNeill and five children under eight years of age. She was deserted by her husband about a year and a half ago, and had to get her living by selling oranges, &c., in the street. She was latterly allowed to live rent free, after the property was bought by the Board of Works. The husband was in America. The children were often locked in during the day crying, perhaps, while the mother was out trying to earn bread for them. No fire, often no food, almost naked, and hardly 2s worth of furniture. The woman (an Irish Catholic) seems quiet and sober and tries hard. In the back room were people in bad condition. On the second floor to the back lived another Irish widow, but without children, who got her living by selling oranges, &c. She had been here for six years, on the whole steady, though she may occasionally take

a drop too much. The front room occupied as a rule by Irish. On the third floor lived another widow without children—this was an English Protestant who made kettle and iron holders. This was one of the worst rooms in the street, from the dirty habits of the woman, who had been here for many years. There was in the room an old bed, a small table and one chair, with another table and chair falling to pieces. The woman would pick up odds and ends in the street and bring them home thinking they would be useful some day—old rags, bits of cloth, string, dirty paper, an odd boot, an old hat, or some bones—or perhaps with the idea of selling them. These would be under the bed or on the bed, or under the table or on it, or in the cupboard or hanging on the walls, affording everywhere encouragement to vermin. The front room on this floor was not quite so bad, occupied usually by Irish; of the lower floors of No. 13 there are no records, except they were occupied by the same class of people. On the third floor lived a widow with two sons of fifteen and<sup>\*</sup> twenty. She sold flowers in the street. A robust and hard-working woman but a heavy drinker at times. The boys are a trial to her—have taken to gambling and ill-treat her. When they fall out and the mother is under the influence of drink there is hell upon earth in this room.

No. 15 was a common lodging-house kept by the same people as Nos. 8 and 10. This one was for men, and accommodated about twenty-six, mostly of the very lowest type. Some get their living by selling newspapers, or penny novelties, others as market porters, the rest are thieves or beggars. The news-vendors are thieves when they get the chance; a bad lot almost without exception. Many of these men would be without a shirt and sometimes without boots. Of No. 17 there is nothing special to be said. It was always let as furnished apartments to the lowest characters.

At No. 19 on the ground floor there was a woman with two grown-up daughters, all looking hardened in sin. They would beg for a bread ticket as though they had not broken fast for days, but if refused the face would alter to fiendish grin and the most fearful language would follow, the strength of voice and expression leaving no doubt as to absence of food or ill-

health. In the first floor front lived the Neals. The man had been a soldier and now earns his living as a market porter; his wife was fast breaking up and the son, a tall young fellow of twenty-two, appeared to be in rapid consumption; the daughter, also grown up, sold flowers in the street. All four lived and slept in this room. In the back room lived a family consisting of mother, a son of twenty, a daughter of twelve, and an old grandmother who looked eighty—a spare but tough old woman—who gets her living as a crossing-sweeper and gets a lot of food and coal tickets given. The mother sells in the streets but suffers from asthma, and the son a few months ago was at the point of death from the same complaint. The girl also looked very ill. Their room was in wretched condition—patches of plaster protruding where the walls had been roughly mended, windows stuffed with rags or mended with paper—vermin everywhere. The rest of the house filled with people of the usual type, unwilling as a rule to converse with the visitor. At the back of No. 19 was a cottage with four rooms, occupied on the ground and first floors by a clay pipe-maker and his wife, or at least the woman who lived with him, and a small child. This man had lived here for nearly two years. The basement was fitted up with a kiln for baking the pipes, and in the parlour the pipes were made. Here, too, the woman sewed and they took their meals, sleeping only in the room above. The pipe trade, it is said, has gone down of late years and is now chiefly with the public-houses. To sell them a shilling's worth the maker of the pipes is expected to spend threepence in drink, and so drink becomes the danger. This man was a decent and very intelligent man, and, talking of his neighbours, would give them a dreadful character, saying that what he had witnessed in the street would never be believed. Just in front of his windows was a dust-bin and above it the window of the first floor back, and from this window he could see good food thrown away—this was part of what the old crossing-sweeper had received. When short of coal for his kiln he could generally get enough out of the same receptacle—large cinders and small coal being recklessly thrown away by the old woman who lived on charity. On the upper floors rough Irish lived.



No. 21, *Parker Street* was a lodging-house for men and had been so for above eleven years. It accommodated fifty to sixty men who were of the same description as those at No. 15. The entrance to the kitchen was through a narrow passage down stone steps from a backyard into a rough kind of cavern, and then through a door into the kitchen, which was more like a dungeon than anything else, and was only lighted by a small window from *Shelton Street*. This window has to be left open in summer in order to get a breath of air, and one evening while the visitor was there a bucket of water was thrown in, spoiling the food and tea of those who were at table. The men, bad as they are, and ready to fight amongst themselves, were respectful to the missionary, who was permitted to hold a religious service in the room on Sunday evening, and this service seemed to be appreciated and to have a beneficial effect.

No. 23 had been a lodging for women for eleven years, and no doubt many years previously. No crime under heaven can have escaped being committed in this place at one time or another. The kitchen and its occupants were much as has already been described at No. 8. In this house the visitor has seen many girls under sixteen living as prostitutes, and known a mother living on the earnings of her young daughter. Of late years the authorities have done much to prevent such young people living in these places, and, considering that these places exist, they have been well looked after of late by the police. About nine years ago a woman was killed in this house. She had discharged herself from *St. Giles's Workhouse*, and returning to this house, where she had been before, she chose a certain bed that was vacant, but another woman present wanted the same bed, and in a quarrel that ensued the woman from the workhouse, knocked down, fell against the iron bedstead and death instantly ensued. The woman who struck the blow was arrested and taken to *Bow Street*, where the very next day in the cell she gave birth to a child. She was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. When the missionary called on the following Sunday, he was told by the "deputy" and others that no one could sleep in the corner where the death had happened because of the fearful noises which were heard, and



he was begged to offer prayers against this infliction. He did so, using the occasion to give solemn warning to those present, and on the Sunday next succeeding heard that since the prayers had been offered in the room nobody had been disturbed. This will serve to show the superstition of these people.

No. 27 was a public-house, the keeper of which was also the keeper of the lodging-house just described, and of Nos. 6 and 14, which were let furnished, and this house for the sale of drink nicely rounded off his interests in the street, a suitable helper to the other houses; for whatever those who lodged had, after paying 4*d* for their bed, or 1*s* for their room, went mostly to the public-house. It was commonly believed also that this man was in the habit of receiving the goods dishonestly obtained by his lodgers, but as to this there is no certainty. He was always most respectful to the missionary, and gave free access to his houses, of which (except the public-house) full use was made.

No. 29, *Parker Street* was a workshop and is still standing. At No. 31 (as it was) in the parlours, occupying both rooms, there lived Mr. and Mrs. Dormer with three children, who had been there over eleven years. Mr. Dormer, who sold shell-fish, died nine months since from the effect of drink. He had always spent nearly all he took in drink. The widow is fond of drink also, but has to work very hard to get a living for herself and the younger girl; the elder girl and the boy now get their own living. She does odd jobs. On the first floor in the one room there had lived, also for over eleven years, a bill-poster and his wife, without children. A sober, steady man, very clean in his person, but very ailing and could not earn much, not more than 9*s* a week on an average. His wife, a dirty woman, eked this out by picking up what she could in the street. Pay 3*s* or 3*s* 3*d* rent. Room very untidy. In the front room there lived all the time a widower who spent his money in drink and tobacco. On the second floor also, the tenants of the front room had been there for over eleven years. They were a widow and her children, two sons now aged fourteen and twenty-five. She worked as a charwoman. The elder son helped a little; the younger is covered with sores so loathsome

as to be hardly fit to be seen, so he can neither go to school nor to work. The mother, a decent woman, goes to church regularly. In the back room lived an old woman and her grandson. She, too, was a charwoman. The grandson, twenty years of age, was turned adrift by his step-father, and under his grandmother's care has done well; is well dressed and kind to the old lady. Room very clean and fairly furnished compared with others. The old woman is very clean, sober, industrious and honest—a rare specimen in this neighbourhood. In the third floor front lived Mr. and Mrs. Martin and three children under thirteen. These people also were fixed residents and had been here over eleven years. Martin was a dog fancier and dog doctor. On the landing there was generally a dog chained to its kennel. The dogs varied; sometimes of the smallest and sometimes of the largest kind. Cleanliness not being a strong point with Mrs. Martin, the smell may be imagined. The man looked after himself for food and drink, and the woman seemed too ignorant to realize his unkind treatment or feel her poverty. She had scarcely anything to wear, and the little child of five years would run about the house in day-time almost naked, and frequently without food. In the small back room no one seemed to stay long. Behind this house was a workshop where skins were manufactured.

No. 33 was the last house on the north side of Parker Street, and here in place of parlour there was a house for a gig or cart. On first floor there were families both back and front not accessible of late years within the door of their rooms. They however seemed of better class than usual, with a fair amount of furniture and cleanliness. The last occupant of the back room was a widower, scavenger to Board of Works, a man who would not believe in hell or heaven. On the second floor lived the Pearsons, man, wife, and daughter of sixteen. They had lived in the house, one room or another, for seven years. The man according to report had deserted from the army and was given to drink. He was a labourer. The woman bore a sad appearance, the girl was sickly and very deaf, but quiet and inoffensive, and had worked at waistcoat-making for a few months. Room of good size, fairly clean and comfortable.

The occupants of the back room on the floor have been shifting people—room small. On the third floor front lived another labourer, a widower, of the name of Fay. His wife who died four years ago was one of the most wretched looking women ever seen, and complained that her husband would give her no money and drove her to sleep on the floor. The reason was that she spent all she got in drink instead of food, and no one would willingly be within five yards of her, so offensive was her breath. The people in the back room were decent.

The remainder of the street on this as well as the other side consists of workshops, excepting one public-house.

#### MACKLIN STREET.

This street used to be called Charles Street, and is full of common lodging-houses and houses let in furnished apartments. The common lodging-houses are similar, on the whole, in plan to those already described, and so are the furnished rooms and their occupants. We will take the houses one by one, and begin with the south side, which has almost all come down.

No. 2 was a Ragged School. Nos. 4 and 6 were a common lodging-house, one of several held by a committee of which the late Lord Shaftesbury was chairman. Being superior to the other lodging-houses in the street, it was always full, and was used by the better class of board or sandwich-men, who tried to get in and stay there. Nos. 8 to 10, a lodging-house, was known as "Pinkerton's." This house was of the smaller kind; the parlours formed the kitchen, instead of a kitchen being built out to the back, and below the parlours were the places for washing. Next to Pinkerton's there was a workshop, which is still standing; and beyond it, at No. 12, in the parlour lived for some years a very little woman and her deformed son, who sold bread and eatables to the lodgers. Both mother and son died a short time before the houses were pulled down. Over the parlours lived girls and women who were on the streets. There were very many of this class of



women in Charles Street when the missionary first knew it, but they were gradually driven out by rebuilding, and had to seek lodgings elsewhere.

No. 14 was another common lodging-house kept by a man who had several in this street and still keeps two there. No. 16 was a large double-house containing fourteen rooms, and every room would probably be let separately. This house, like the lodging-house at Nos. 8 and 10, was known as "Pinkerton's," and for nearly thirty years was always let out "ready furnished" as "private rooms"; that is, girls and women on the street occupied it, men living with them who would be often interchanged. The women called them their "husband" or their "old man." Rows and quarrelling were common—sad lives and sad deaths! If anyone was ill at these houses, or at the lodging-houses, word was sent to the workhouse, and the person was at once removed; hence to die here was not common. If anyone did die it would be suddenly. Beyond a gateway, leading to a yard, were Nos. 18, 20, and 22, each eight-roomed houses, let in the same way, but not belonging to Pinkerton's. The girls would move from No. 16 into one of these, and *vice versâ*, as occasion served. Beyond No. 22 were and are the Roman Catholic Schools, and beyond these again stood three common lodging-houses, Nos. 30, 32, and 34—No. 30 being for women only, No. 32 for men, while No. 34 was for men and women together. These were three ordinary houses, and at one time, it was said, offered convenience for escape from pursuit by the police by practicable intercommunication. Towards the last these houses improved a good deal in character. The landlady was kind, and would do what she could to help her lodgers, and the deputy was of good character. In these houses the missionary for years held religious meetings, and has seen men affected to tears, so that you might well think "there is hope of that man"; but let him get to a public-house with a few pence in his pocket, and he would soon be affected in a different way.

No. 1, on the north side, belongs to Drury Lane. Nos. 3, 5, and 7 are common lodging-houses, all for men. These still stand and are constructed in the same way as were those just described, excepting that, there being no back-yards on this side, the



kitchens could not be built separate, so the parlours were converted for this purpose, doors leading from one to another. Nos. 9 and 11 provide sixteen rooms and are let by the night to "married couples." Where now stands Staffordshire Buildings, was a court, and facing the street a common lodging-house (Nos. 13, 15, and 17), whence on one occasion a Frenchman, whose very clothes had been robbed from him, had to be taken by the police to Bow Street in a cab. Among the things taken from this man was a watch, and the woman who had taken it had it stolen in turn from her, and the last thief having sold it took a holiday in the country with the proceeds. All this passed as common talk in the street at the time. In this room, too, there was an inquest on a woman who died rather suddenly. She had shared a room with a man and woman, themselves living together unmarried, to whom she paid for the use of the room and the bed when at liberty, and in this bed, which was so dirty that it had to be destroyed, she died. So the story was told at the inquest, where it also came out that the deceased was married and that her husband occupied a good position at the West End. She had 25s a week from him, besides occasional presents of money. Of course she drank it all. When men or women fall from better positions and are found in these houses it is generally through drink, and such are to be found—clerks in holy orders, educated men, school teachers, merchants, reduced to the lowest condition.

No. 19, another common lodging-house for women, was a desperate place. The lowest of those for men would be preferable. This house and No. 21 are now occupied by men and are improved in character.

Beyond 19 and 21 is a place occupied for theatrical scene painting, and then there is the mortuary at the corner of the side entrance to Goldsmith Street (formerly called the Coal Yard). Beyond this as far as Newton Street are now the casual wards and stone-yard. Here, at one time, there was a house with cow-sheds adjoining and a court with about six houses of three rooms each, and about six more houses to the front in Macklin Street—these houses, both in street and court, used to be full of loose women and girls. Such was Macklin Street.

## GOLDSMITH STREET AND SMART'S BUILDINGS.

This street, formerly "The Coal Yard," lies parallel to Macklin Street, opening out of Drury Lane, but instead of reaching through to Newton Street it turns at right angles and debouches in Macklin Street. At the corner in Macklin Street stands, as already mentioned, the mortuary, and behind it reaching back some distance with blank wall to Goldsmith Street are some parish almshouses, of which the entrance is in Macklin Street, between Nos. 17 and 19. The building now used for these almshouses was originally St. Giles's round-house, an old detached fabric built, as its name imports, in a cylindrical form, but it had undergone from time to time so many alterations that its symmetry was destroyed and its walls bulging made it resemble an enormous cask, a resemblance which was increased by the small circular aperture which served for a door pierced like a bung-hole in its side at some distance from the ground. This was approached by a flight of wooden steps. The prison was two storeys high, with a flat roof surmounted by a gilt vane fashioned like a key. There was considerable accommodation inside, and it had in its day accommodated many thousands of disorderly persons. In this Round-house it is said that Jonathan Wild and Jack Sheppard were in their turn locked up, and from it they succeeded in escaping. The building, which was erected in 1790, was finally given to the Almshouse authorities of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields and St. George's, Bloomsbury, for the residence of twenty poor women of these parishes, and was rebuilt in 1885. The rest of this portion of Goldsmith Street, occupied now by business premises, was formerly the site of Barley Court and always full of girls and base women who could do any diabolical work. Once they threw a man out of window and killed him. Just at the back of this court stood the matron's house of the new almshouses, and in the midst of such vice and wretchedness

the poor old ladies lived. Of the same character were four houses of three rooms each which stood at the corner where the street turns towards Drury Lane. They too are gone, and business premises stand in their place. Proceeding along Goldsmith Street towards Drury Lane one crosses Smart's Buildings, and on the south side, where now stands the Board School, there was a peculiar place called the Galleries. Some houses two storeys high occupied by bad women faced the street, but at back was a large space of ground. This was built round and a single door was the only entrance. The ground floors of these buildings were used for stabling costers' donkeys, and above were rooms in which dwelt a rough, desperate class of Irish costers and others. One of these visited by my informant was a rat-catcher, his room full of boxes of ferrets and surly dogs. The man was as surly as his dogs and as sharp as his ferrets, and as rough a customer as any rat; his wife, a meek quiet woman, lived to do his bidding and kept the place as clean as it might be:

At the Drury Lane end on the south side of Goldsmith Street are a carpenter's shop and a dairy, and beyond the dairy are the eow-sheds. The dairyman lives at the dairy, but no one now resides at the carpenter's shop. Opposite on the north corner stand "Goldsmith's Buildings," a model block accommodating thirty families, mostly eosters too newly come for individual details to be given; they are mostly second-class eosters, employed by others to hawk round cheap commodities. Onward the houses bear regular numbers from 3 upwards. Nos. 3 and 5 are occupied by a family who have prospered wonderfully. Its members divide, some going into the eountry, where they eollect moss, ferns, &c., or buy flowers, which are sent home by train and sold in Covent Garden market. Others do this on a smaller scale and single-handed, going out a few miles from London by train or tramping on foot if they have no money, to collect groundsell or chickweed for birds, or creeping-Jenny and sprays of ivy, which, coming back next day, they sell in the streets.



At No. 7 lives a carman in broken-down health. He fell off his cart and being run over broke his leg. On the floor above is a very poor old lady living on charity, but a happy soul expectant of heaven. Beneath this house a gateway leads to paintworks occupying a large space at the back. No. 9 is a large house of fourteen rooms with nearly as many families, mostly Irish Roman Catholics.

Nos. 11, 13, and 15 contain each nine or ten families, mostly fond of drink and poor. Many of these belong to the coster class. Of 17 and 19, similar houses, there is nothing to note. No. 23, the corner of Smart's Buildings, is occupied by a prosperous Irishman who deals in fish and fowls. Beyond Smart's Buildings there is a smithy and foundry occupying Nos. 25 and 27. No. 29 is a double-house where lived and died an old man who had saved enough to own some of these houses, but his heirs have sold them and spent the money, and now live at top of No. 30, where also lives on the lower floor a poor coster. No. 31 is a stable with rooms over it, occupied by caretaker to parish stone-yard. Where the street turned there was a double-house pulled down to make the entrance to the stone-yard, which, with the casual wards, reaches to Macklin Street.

It remains to describe Smart's Buildings. On the east side there are seven houses, each containing six rooms and cellar, and at back of each in the yard has been built a cottage of two rooms, one over the other. All these, houses and cottages alike, are occupied by very poor people, most of them occupying only one room. No. 7, next Goldsmith Street, is a shop of varieties. The woman married an Irishman and they had no children, but one day a boy was left on the doorstep and she took him in and kept him twelve months, when one day he was taken off and a little girl (his sister) left in his place. A man who came to live at a common lodging-house in Short's Gardens (close by), whose wife had left him, found out that the children were his, and that his wife had left them. The father died in hospital, and the girl stayed on and still lives with her adopted mother, who is now a widow. To No. 5 there came once a wretched family who occupied a room but paid no rent, and having notice to quit pleaded they had the fever, upon which three or four weeks were given them, and before this was up



they obtained from the police an extension of three weeks more. Very likely a hard case for these people, but hard also for the poor person who, taking the whole house, looked to getting part of the rent by sub-letting. No. 4 contains seven families, among them one which for twenty years has given trouble to the police through drink, and all the time has lived in wretchedness.

At No. 3 again there are seven families, all lovers of drink, and consequently all living unhappily in wretched homes. At No. 2 the ground and first floors are occupied by a widow and her married daughter, who for poor people are very comfortable taking care of their money. There are four other families in the house. In No. 1 are seven families similar to those in No. 3. The love of drink keeps them always in low water.

---

It will be readily understood that I have no proof to offer for the accuracy of the foregoing statements. I have no means of checking them or any of the descriptions which will follow. The greatest care however was taken to make the account of each street complete, and I am satisfied that none of my informants had any wish but to tell their stories truthfully.

I should have been glad if I could have given as full an account of some black streets elsewhere in London, but such localities do not lend themselves satisfactorily to parochial visitation, and the material is scarce. There is moreover much uniformity. Certain types cover all the black streets, and these types are all represented in the central London group we have described. Streets filled with common lodging-houses—streets of furnished apartments occupied by prostitutes—streets of small houses, the homes of thieves. None will be all bad together. Everywhere mixed in with the rest are to be found the victims of drink or folly or misfortune, and the description of some mixed streets in which poverty rather than vice prevails may serve, with a slight allowance, as illustrations of worse places.

There is sometimes more "house-pride" to be seen in

the black than in the dark blue streets. However the money may be got, the people are not quite so poor, and I have seen great efforts made to bring the appearance of doorstep and window up to the desired standard on a Saturday afternoon, beyond anything to be met with in the dark blue streets. The houses have at times a furtive secret look, but the evil character of the black streets is rather to be seen on the faces of the people—men, women, and children are all stamped with it.

To the foregoing I will only add from my notes a description of Little Clarendon Street (black) :—

This street, long and narrow, presents a very unattractive vista to anyone passing along the main street and looking up. Its length is relieved by only one break where a small street crosses. Walking along it, most of the houses appear poverty-stricken and all have a grimy look. It is the same with the people. None of them can be counted above the line of poverty, and their poverty seems to be of a dismal, vicious type. All the same their amusement is catered for. A crowd had gathered at the further end of the street round two performers, each of whom in turn did feats of skill and strength while his companion turned the handle of the piano. The crowd consisted of the inhabitants who, it being Saturday afternoon, were hanging about—young and old, male and female. Of passers-by there would be few besides myself. In addition to the circle in the street and to women standing in the doorways, upper windows were opened and heads craned out to see the show. Ha'pence were thrown into the performer's hat, and one lady giving a penny received back a halfpenny change.

Near by, but not in this street itself, there was at about the same time another gathering. It was round a drunken man lying wounded and bleeding in the gutter near a public-house. His friends carried him off into their or his house, and another drunken man, his assailant, I suppose, but evidently sorry, tried in vain to make his thick tongue explain what had happened. A little later, when I passed again, the crowd had dwindled to a few children intent upon a little pool of blood.

## DARK BLUE STREETS WITH BLACK LINE.

The look of great poverty which stamps all the dark blue and most of the black streets may be resolved first into two elements—the people and the houses. With the people it is the children who mark the greatest contrast, and then the women; the appearance of the men is less affected by poverty. With the houses it is naturally the windows and the doors that tell the tale. The windows are cracked and patched, and are imperfectly screened by dirty and ragged blinds stretched across, or by falling curtains of the very commonest description. The doors usually stand open—in tenement houses it is always so—and afford glimpses of the poverty within. But more than all else, the brickwork round about each door carries the stamp of poverty. The surface of each brick by the rubbing of arms and shoulders takes a black polish, but the mortar frays away and remains clean until, as the houses age, it is picked out or wears away into a cavity which becomes as dark as the rest. When such houses are “done up,” the pointing and refacing of the brick is a principal item in the change effected.

A poor neighbourhood is also stamped by its shops. Bird-fanciers are mostly to be found in the mixed streets which lie near black districts. Fried fish, and still more stewed-eel shops commonly mark the vicinity of great poverty, and a catsmeat shop is seldom far removed from it. The cats themselves may be taken as a last test. People are poor indeed whose cat looks starved. I have seen the catsmeat-man on his round in a very poor street, and not less than a dozen cats were strolling about with raised tails confidently awaiting their turns.



## LITTLE TARLTON STREET.

This is a paved court with posts at each end to stop vehicular traffic. It has a central gutter filled with all kinds of refuse. The houses are mostly four-roomed, a few have six rooms. The front doors are always open.

Of its people at their best, the man is generally a hawker and goes to Covent Garden in the morning and wheels a barrow during the day, which he converts into a stall somewhere on Saturday night. The woman washes at the public baths or goes out charing in the better-class neighbourhood round about. They lead a scrambling existence. Among the lower set, the man is a gambler, or sharper, or thief, and the women go on the streets—miserable, shifty people. We have here extreme poverty close by the side of great wealth and not improved by the contact.

No. 1. The ground floor rooms are occupied by Fletcher, a hawker, his wife and six children. He goes round with a barrow; she does occasional washing and charing. On first floor in front are Lawson and his wife and two children. Clean and tidy people, but have one child in an industrial school. In the back room lives Bewley with wife and four children. He calls himself a general labourer, but the wife keeps the family by dressmaking. They have also a niece of eighteen living with them who works at a dairy.

No. 2. Ground floor front room is occupied by Martin, wife and two children; rough people, only married last summer. In the back room is a man called Mulford, a very bad character who belongs to a set of gamblers. Not very clear how he gets his living. On the upper floor in front are a man and woman not married. She keeps him by washing, &c. At the back is a widow with five children. She is a washerwoman and very poor.

No. 3. On ground floor front and back lives Mrs. Billings, a widow, with her two stepsons for whom she keeps house. Above on first floor front is Powles, a labourer, living with a woman who was deserted by her husband. At the back live a man and his wife without children, both hard drinkers. He seems to have no particular occupation. On second floor live an



old couple whose two daughters are married and gone away. Very decent old people though he is a little cranky.

*No. 4.* On ground floor in the front room lives a widow who does repairing, &c., and is very poor. The back room is occupied by two prostitutes. On the first floor in the front room live a man and his wife with seven children. He loafes and she washes. They are very dirty and miserably poor. At the back lives Cann with his wife and two children. He is consumptive and does nothing in particular. She goes out begging with the children. On the top floor in two rooms are Tilling and his wife and eight children. He spends his time about the public-houses. She does anything she can. The eldest boy, a decent lad, is at a chemist's shop, but he is consumptive.

*No. 5.* The ground floor front room is occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Stainbridge and their two sons. They sell flowers in the summer and chop wood in the winter. At back lives Pitman and his wife and two little boys, who are very poor indeed. Contented people though work is very irregular (Pitman is a casual labourer), and there is not a blanket on the bed. On the upper floor in front lives Williams, a prostitute of very bad character, and at back Mrs. Season, a widow, who washes at the public washhouse and keeps herself respectable.

*No. 6.* On ground floor lives Stainbridge, a son of those of same name above. Has a wife but no children. He also sells flowers, but is very poor. At the back lives a widow and her daughter, both on the streets; complain bitterly that they are cheated by their clients. These are a very bad lot. On upper floor in front lives Tyler with wife and five children, eldest a girl of eleven. The man never seems to work. Have no visible means of support. All generally go begging on Sunday. In the back room lives a widow with four children. Very poor; does washing and charing.

*No. 7.* The front room on ground floor is occupied by Matthews and his son, cobblers. The back room is occupied by the married daughter and her husband, a "handy man" out of work, with three young children. All very poor. The two rooms on floor above are occupied by a so-called widow and her daughter; both are prostitutes.

There are 27 houses in this street.

*Burdock Road.* A few years ago Burdock House and its garden became, in the hands of a local speculator, the "Burdock Estate," and was sold with a stiff ground rent to a builder who covered it with houses for the working classes, of that cheap description which gives the most immediate return in rent. The result is now Burdock Road, which, bending at right angles, occupies most of the old grounds of Burdock House. Each house in this street consists of three floors, and each floor is a separate tenement, consisting of two rooms to the front and a small one to the back.

At first there was a fairly good class of tenants, the houses were respectable and such as working people might live in with decency and comfort. But after a year, two or three bad lots got in on the odd number side, and then the street changed as by magic. The better folk left and people came who had hardly any furniture—the rejections of other districts. One family, by whom the deaconess was called in to dress a wound, had no furniture, only an empty cask; no bed-clothes and not even a basin or any utensil for the water she needed, except a tin pot. In some of the houses the banisters have gone to feed the fire, and in some the iron stoves have gone, leaving nothing but an open hearth of brick below the chimney. The inhabitants are continually on the move. If the rent presses they leave. In summer they go hopping. They are very rough and very dirty. On Saturday and Sunday the place is dreadful indoors and out. The houses swarm with vermin, and are not pleasant places to visit.

## BURDOCK ROAD.

No.	Rms.	Pers.			
1 & 3 ground one floor hse.	shop & 2	3	(E)	Man, wife, and step-mother.	Small grocer's shop. Man collects rents. Comfortable.
first floor	3	10	(B)	Man, wife, and 8 children.	Sawyer, usually out of work. Seems good for nothing. Wife wretched and slovenly. Very poor; always moving.
second floor	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Baker. Very respectable.
	1	1	(E)	Single man lodger.	Works with the baker above.
5 ground floor	3	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Labourer. Wife works 4 days a week. Recently come.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
	first floor	3	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Labourer in and out of work. Very poor and very dirty.
	second floor		8	(C)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Butcher, often out of work for months. Drinking and gambling more or less. Very often starving. Woman dirty, but does what she can and does not drink much. Man had a good business at one time.
7	ground floor	3	2	(C)	Elderly couple.	Coal porter. Had prostitute lodging with them.
	first floor	3	9	(B)	Man, wife, and 7 or 8 children.	Labourer. In irregular work. Has a bad leg. Children at ragged school. Very rough and dirty family.
	second floor	2	4	(D)	Widow and 3 children.	Scrubber at infirmary. Three older children have been found places away. One earns 6s or 7s.
	second floor	1	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Labourer. Always out of work. Children are sickly and miserable. One boy got to sea.
9	ground floor	2			No information.	
	first floor	2	8	(B)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Composer. Exceedingly dirty, but decent people, probably Irish. Big girl of 17 and 5 small children.
	second floor	2	8	(B)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Builder's labourer. Has been a soldier, and had sunstroke. Tries to keep sober, but when drunk smashes everything. Wife struggling woman. Very dirty. Lost baby recently. Two boys work at coal yard, and also sing in music-halls.

The other side of the street has a different landlord. It used to be very bad, but was cleared out and left empty until better tenants could be found. 11 inhabited houses in all.



*Flint Street.* The lady visitor to whose notes on this street we have had access makes it better than it looks, and better than other reports have led us to expect. It looks very poor, very bad, and above all, very uncomfortable. It is rather a wide street, and the houses are of three storeys. Its situation is retired but rather good; not too far away from the centre of things and very handy to a main thoroughfare, well served by omnibus and tram-cars. It is one of a group of streets; and all of them have gone wrong and become the habitations of a very low class, of which the individuals come and go while the types are constant. Many of the lowest quarters of London, however much we may deplore the existence alike of the places and their inhabitants, give an impression of ease in life, rather pleasant in its way, provided no outside standard be invoked. It is not so here; and after each visit to this place I have come away without any relief from its depressing influence, without seeing any of the more agreeable features of human life. I do not doubt that they exist; but all that usually can be seen is dull, miserable, ill-conditioned, squalid poverty. The houses are six-roomed, two rooms on each floor, and are all alike except two shops in the middle of the row. A sample follows:—

No.		Rms.	Pers.		
15	ground front	1	2	(B)	Woman and 1 child.
	back	unknown			
	first front	1	empty		
	first back	2	3	(D)	Man, wife, and 1 child.
	top floor	1	empty		
17	ground floor	2	3	(C)	Man, wife, and 1 child.
	first floor	2	2	(D)	Man and wife.
	top floor	2	8	(C)	Man, wife, and 6 children.
19	ground floor	2	2	(D)	Man and wife.
	first floor	2	4	(C)	Man, wife, and 2 children.
	top floor back	2	4	(A)	Widow and 3 children.
					Several children away. Girl at school.
					Man in regular work.
					Cab-washer. Boy at school. One girl in service. Nearly always starving.
					Bricklayer, decent man, often out of work in winter. Wife drinks. Eldest boy and girl go to work.
					Middle-aged people. May have children but none here.
					Casual man.
					Big girl, and 2 little ones at school. A bad lot.



No.		Rms.	Pers.			
21	ground floor	2	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Very queer and very poor. Wife does not send children to school because they are ragged.
	first front	1	1	(C)	Widow alone.	Lives on what she can get.
	back	1	3	(B)	Man, wife, 1 child.	Very poor.
	top front	1	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Big girl generally idling about.
	back	1	5	(D)	Widower and 4 children.	Drinks what he gets. Children at school. Room clean and tidy.
23	ground floor	2	4	(B)	Man, wife, 2 children.	Works at Billingsgate, is disabled. Wife is paralyzed. One girl at home, one in service, boy at school. Drink. Get help, but very poor.
	first floor				empty	
	first back	1	1		Widow alone.	A low woman. Drinks.
	top floor	2	2	(C)	Widow and 1 daughter.	Daughter goes to work. Widow has hurt her foot and cannot work. Decent people.
25	ground floor	1	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Irregular work. Roman Catholics. Decent people.
	front back room	1	5	(A)	Man, wife, and some children.	Beggars. Irish. Very poor.
	first floor	2	2	(B)	Man and wife.	Shoemaker. Wife a tailoress. Manage to get drink. Man always grumbling.
	top front	1			empty	
	back room	1	6	(A)	Wife and 5 children.	Man imprisoned for robbery, one boy implicated. Wife makes paper bags (4½d per 1000). Sometimes they have plenty of furniture, sometimes the room is bare.
27		2	6	(A)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Man goes out to work. Others beg. Very doubtful people.
		1	2		A widower and a boy.	
29		2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	One son lives away, one child in hospital with burns. Respectable but poor.
		1	1		An old woman.	
		1	1		A man, never seen.	
		2	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Labourer. One child a cripple. Very poor.

*Rydal Street.* A wretched-looking place. The windows are much broken, and being formed with only four large panes—two above, and two below—of very thin glass are, when broken, beyond the possibilities of successful home-mending. Some of the broken-windowed rooms are not occupied. The women standing about look poverty-stricken, the children ill-cared for and very dirty. Some of them are to be seen looking out from beneath the lifted window curtain of a front parlour—probably they are locked in awaiting their mother's return from work. Only one side of the street is occupied; on the other side is a factory and some open ground adjoining the same. The houses have five small rooms and a kitchen, and are let in tenements by the landlord, or to one tenant and sub-let. The rents are 7s 6d for the whole, 4s 6d for the half house. There are several landlords. Occupants are continually moving, but do not go far. Many of those described as out of work do casual work, or have coker-nut shy-stands, &c. Most of the wives do charing or some occasional work; some work at a jam factory near. The neighbourhood in which this street is situated grows poorer, and is a resort of "failures" from other parts. It is an out-of-the-way neighbourhood with cheap rents. Boys and girls can both get work at the various factories round about.

No.		Rms.	Pers.		
1&3					Condemned.
5	ground	3	6 (E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Corkcutter. Two children at work. Industrious family.
	upper	3	7 (A)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Labourer. Out of work. Sells vegetables in street very casually. Was lately in prison. Wife gets a chance day's work.
7	ground	3	10 (B)	Man, wife, and 8 children.	Printer. Always out of work; a loafer. Wife chars and supports family with aid of children. Three at work.
	upper	3	4 (A)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Labourer (nominal). A family of professional beggars. Always moving to escape rent. Lazy and filthy.

No.		Rms.	Pers.		
9	ground	3	9	(B)	Man, wife, and 7 children.
	upper	3	9	(3)	Man, wife, and 7 children.
11	ground	3			Empty.
	upper	3	4	(B)	Deserted wife and 3 children.
13	ground	3	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.
	upper front.	2	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.
15	upper back	1	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.
15					Empty.
17	ground	3	9	(E)	Man, wife, and 7 children.
	upper	1	1	(B)	Widow, alone.
	upper	1	2	(A)	Widower, 1 child.
19	ground	3	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.
	upper	3	1	(D)	Single woman.
21	ground	3			Empty.
	upper	3	3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 child.
23	ground				Empty.
	upper	3	5	(C)	Man, wife, and family.
25	ground	4	8	(B)	Man, wife, and 6 children.
	upper	1	1	(C)	Man alone.
	upper	1	1	(C)	Man alone.
27	ground	3	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.
	upper	3	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 1 child, and wife's father.

Bricklayer. Out of work. Wife makes match-boxes. One of the children at work. Very poor.

Pastry cook. Out of work.

Empty.

Match-box maker. Hard-working woman. One boy works.

Tin toy maker. Very poor trade.

Dock labourer. Out of work. Loafer. One child at work. Always extremely poor.

Labourer. Out of work twelve months. Great distress. Not fond of work.

Empty.

Foreman dustman. One girl in service, one boy at printer's, one child blind, and one imbecile. Hard-working and teetotalers.

Match-box maker.

Loafer. Queer character.

Plasterer. Out of work. Bad workman, cannot keep regular job. Very poor.

Works in city.

Empty.

Brush-maker. Regular work. Comfortable.

Empty.

Labourer. One son works.

Accountant. Sick in infirmary. Two children at work. Been in good circumstances. Now very poor. Cause probably drink.

Labourer.

Labourer. Out of work. Casual work.

Labourer. The old man is ill. Very poor.

*Cleveland Terraces.* Two rows of small houses built on one side of the street and looking on to the backs of the houses in Peel Street. The weekly wash hangs out in front of the houses, and the women stand gossiping before their doors. The place and people have a very low look.

No.	Rms	Pers.		
1	2	7	(B) Man, wife, and about 5 young children.	One or two days' work a week. Wife tailoring when she can get it.
	2	7	(C) Man, wife, and about 5 young children.	Painter, more or less out of work. Wife washes and occasionally acts at theatres.
2	2	10	(B) Man, wife, and about 8 children.	Barge - labourer, good wages when at work. Wife a fearful drunkard, has twice jumped from top window when intoxicated. Eldest boy out of work, rest too young.
	2	4	(D) Man, wife, and 2 children.	Labourer, fairly decent.
3	2	6	(C) Man, wife, and about 4 children.	Carman, often ill. Wife immoral, "a disgrace to the neighbourhood."
	2	8	(B) Man, wife, and about 6 children.	Potman, 10s a week. Wife washes. Eldest girl in service. Boy at work. Others young. Man given to drink. Wife clean and respectable.
4	2	5	(D) Man, wife, and 3 children.	Man in gasworks. Seem respectable.
	2	6	(B) Man, wife, and several children.	Woodcutter. Daughter at home out of work. Very poor.
5	2	2	(E) Man and wife, no young children.	Costermonger. Decent people.
	3	9	(A) Man, wife, and about 7 children.	Attends to horses at race meetings. Eldest girl in service. Always starving in winter.
	back room	1	1 (A) Single woman.	An immoral woman. Now in hospital.
6	4	7	(B) Man, wife, and 5 children.	Was in gasworks. Met with an accident and now cannot work. Clean respectable people. Great poverty.



No.	Rms. Pers.				
	2	4			
7			C)	Man and wife, 2 children.	Out of work. Wife works at laundry.
	2	10	(D)	Man, wife, and about 8 children.	Man in work. Wife does sewing. One girl at service. Others at home.
8	2	6	(B)	Man, wife, and about 4 children. Not let.	Costermonger. A drinking family.
	upper floor				
9	3	10	(B)	Man, wife, and 8 or 9 children.	Costermonger. Elder children help; are without shoes and stockings because of drink.
	1	3	(A)	Young couple and 1 child.	Costermonger. Depraved and ill, friends of No. 3.
11	2	8	(B)	Man, wife, and about 6 children.	Firewood dealer. Man goes out with wood on a barrow. The children sell it. At times the children go out alone even late at night while the man sits in the public-house.
	1	3	(B)	Man, wife, and grown son.	Father and son sell coke in the street. Drink heavily. The son cannot read. Very poor.
	1	2	(B)	Widow and son.	Works in laundry. Son at school. Very poor. There is a daughter who will not live here because mother drinks

It will be seen that those classed B in this place, though not belonging to Class A, are for the most part of a very low type.

## DARK BLUE STREETS.

## SUMMER GARDENS.

This place lies at the back of Fount Street. The particulars given apply to the inhabitants of Summer Gardens, but for the purpose of description it will be convenient to describe Fount Street as well, and even to touch upon Baxter Street, the leading business street to which the other two in some sense pertain. Fount Street and Summer Gardens are both coloured dark blue. Baxter Street is black, the houses which are interspersed with the business premises having a bad character. The three together are part of one of the poorest districts in all London, a district where poverty is almost solid.

Summer Gardens is a narrow street, all dwelling-houses. Fount Street is mostly dwellings, but has some places of business, and a mission-house. Baxter Street seems full of business—cheap cabinet-work, furniture, and chairs. Cart and barrow-loads of roughly shaped wood or sawn boards are in the roadway, and men pass about with great bundles of chair-backs or legs. In the centre of this street are the large church mission-buildings. There was soup going at the mission-house in Fount Street, a very large old house with wooden front, the boards overlapping like the sides of a boat. At each of its two doors a group was gathered; one, of women with jugs, the other of children who brought no jugs and would doubtless carry away the soup in a more simple manner when it could be given them. Both groups had to wait. I passed several times and still the same women, and I think the same children, stood waiting in the freezing air. The children looked well enough, more common than wretched. The women looked exceedingly cold, and no wonder, for they seemed to have run over from their houses without throwing on either

bonnet or shawl, in their working aprons, bare-armed as well as bare-headed, dangling their jugs and gossiping till their turn might come. At the corner as I passed along two boys met. "'ad dinner?" said one. "Yes." "What did you 'ave?" "Soup." "Was it good?" I put in, and the answer came promptly, "No." I had seen another crowd of children pushing into a third mission at the end of Baxter Street, and seeming very eager. It may have been one of these who afterwards turned critical. It was "black Monday," and before I left the bell of the Board school had rung and the children with much lagging were trooping into school. The sweet-shop opposite the entrance was doing a brisk trade.

Many of the houses in these streets have been formerly occupied by weavers, and have the usual large upper windows and spacious rooms (as originally built) needed for the looms. Now these large rooms are partitioned up into small ones. With these old houses are mixed others of different type. The new buildings are principally missions or schools. In Summer Gardens there live some costermongers, and in Fount Street also, empty barrows stood about and one or two baked potato vans, ready to turn out at night. Before one door stood two barrows well loaded with oranges ready for a start (12.30); the man may have returned to dinner, but more likely his hours begin and end late. Summer Place, the next street to Summer Gardens, is more completely in the occupation of costers. Here, and still more in the yet smaller courts round about, the roads are much littered with paper unwrapped from the fruit. Amongst the scraps of paper and garbage and frozen dirt there is as usual a great quantity of bread strewn about (surest sign of extreme poverty all over London). The streets are all covered and the gutters filled with frozen dirt; harmless in its present condition and impossible for any vestry to deal with, but more or less it would be there at all times.



In one street is the body of a dead dog and near by two dead cats, which lie as though they had slain each other. All three have been crushed flat by the traffic which has gone over them, and they, like everything else, are frozen and harmless. The houses in Baxter Street and Fount Street are interspersed with little shops. Except the old clothes shops, every shop, whatever else it deals in, sells sweets, and with most of them the sweets seem the "leading article." They differ only in what else they offer. With some it is toys; with others oranges and onions; with others dripping, cheese and ham; with others again loaves of bread or temperance drinks. In almost every case cakes of some kind are sold, or little open tarts.

The particulars given below are for part of one side of Summer Gardens, compiled from the notes of one who knows the street and its people very well.

On the ground floor of No. 2 lives Mutton, a builder's labourer; he had had no work for a month, and his wife was just confined. There were four children. Came from Weymouth. The wife gave up attending the mothers' meeting connected with the Church because of the bad language of other members. Above is the office of the landlord. The man in charge, a pleasant little fellow, lives elsewhere. Complained of difficulty in collecting his rents; some tenants owe thirteen weeks and have no goods worth distraining. There is also a room occupied by man and wife. The man a dirty, disreputable looking old fellow with a sharp wit. Not at all religious. Said his brother had served the Lord till seventy-four years old and "then He thought fit to choke him." The old man's trade is doll making, but having no dolls to make is in the meantime a shoemaker. He "should be busy when the Germans were all dead." Imported dolls came cheaper than they could be made in England. He was born not far away and had always lived in the neighbourhood. His father (a toy maker) employed eighteen men and rented four houses. Our old man inherited the business, but failed, and is now very poor. He is over sixty. His wife does a little charring.



No. 4. On the ground floor lives a hawker with eight children; the eldest, a girl of seventeen, and a quiet gentle creature, was at home with the two youngest. She makes boot boxes. Wife was out doing half a day's work. A grown-up son lives in Fount Street. The first floor is occupied by Green, a dock labourer, with wife and four children. They subscribe to a clothing club connected with the church. At the top lives Marston, a chair maker, with wife and four children. They also are in the clothing club. The wife makes match-boxes. She has just been confined, but the baby is dead.

No. 6. On the ground floor live Mr. and Mrs. Meek. Meek is a hatter and was engaged in dyeing children's hats in a portable boiler. A cheery little man. With the help of his wife he dyes, re-blocks, and trims old hats, which they sell in the streets at 3*d* each. Wife had been selling them in New Cut. Had taken 6*d*—last night 3*d*—so she said. There are six children. Rent 6*s* for two rooms; had to shift from another house where they owed rent. One of the rooms now occupied should be a shop, but the shutters are up on account of broken glass. Get free breakfast tickets and other help from church. On the first floor lives a widow who does washing. She had two sons at home out of work. The second floor is occupied by the Martins; the man was in the infirmary and his wife was away at work, leaving only the daughter at home. On the top, in one room, lives Burge, a bricklayer's labourer. Had only had one week's work since Christmas. He has a wife and five children, of whom one earns 4*s* a week. Rent 3*s*. Helped by Church. In the other room lives Grantly, a costermonger, with three young children. The wife gets four days a week at a laundry. Seem very respectable.

No. 8. This is an eighteen-room house. On the ground floor two rooms are occupied by the Robsons, a young couple with two children. The man is a coster, but was out snow-sweeping. The wife makes boxes. Decent, industrious people. At the back lives Mrs. Helmut, whose husband, formerly an optician, is now at Hanwell suffering from suicidal melancholia. The woman has lost several children and supports herself by washing and charing. She has charge of two children belonging to one

of her daughters. Of these she takes home the youngest every evening, but the eldest (being by a former husband) stays altogether with the grandmother. This child had not been to school lately, having no boots, and only came out from behind the table when told that "it was not the School Board man." In the kitchen to the right, sub-let by the Robsons at 1s 6d, lives Mrs. Thomas and Mrs. Flanagan, two miserable looking widows, who share the rent. Mrs. T. sells fruit or flowers in Paternoster Row, but had this day (in February) taken nothing and got very wet-footed. Mrs. F. does washing and charing occasionally. On the walls of the room hung a portrait and two other prints. Mrs. T. had just pawned two aprons and a pocket handkerchief to pay the rent. She wore a pair of odd boots—bought one at a time; don't keep the wet out. Was at church last three Sundays and doubtless hoped a reward in this world as well as the next. Could only afford, she said, "Just a cup of tea sometimes." Mrs. F. does not go to church. "Has got no Sunday clothes." Good clothes all pledged. Rent 7s 6d in arrear. Born in Hatton Garden. Had been here two years. Her father was in good circumstances, a tailor employing over sixty hands, working for a large retail house. She had married against her father's wish and been discarded. The father has been dead now sixteen years. Mrs. Thomas was also born in London—at Snow Hill.

On the front floor at back was Mrs. Brandon, formerly and better known as Smith. Her husband (Brandon), a French polisher, and great drunkard, deserted her on Christmas Day, and is now living with a girl at a low lodging-house. His wife still had the remains of a black eye and two cuts on the forehead by which to remember him, but does not herself bear a very good character. Living at home with her was a boy of fourteen who went out with a bookstall man. Doing nothing now because of bad weather. There was also a married daughter with an infant who pays her mother 10s a week. This young woman's husband enlisted on the day she was confined, being then only sixteen and a half and she barely eighteen. He had signed for seven years and was at Malta. Mrs. Brandon had worked in the kitchen of a City restaurant.

No. 10 has also eighteen rooms. On ground floor to right Boffin, a cabinet maker, working on what-nots; complained of the way his work was "sweated." Has a wife and five children, all young. These people are very poor. To the left Hulett, a slipper maker, with wife and four children, one (aged eight) ill. He makes a dozen in a day and a half and gets 3s for them. In the second room on left hand lives Mrs. Carden, a widow of doubtful character. Part of the first floor is occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Caird, both of whom drink heavily; a very rough lot. She makes boxes. Upstairs there is Mrs. Wilson, a widow, who is said to go out to work. Dr. Barnardo has two of her girls. There is a one-eyed boy of eleven at home. The other rooms are empty—tenants ejected for not paying their rent.

No. 12. On ground floor lives Sanderson, a cabinet maker. He is an elderly man, a widower for five-and-twenty years, and lives here with his son, a single man of twenty-eight. They rent a workshop elsewhere, paying 3s 6d a week for it. The first floor is to let. Above there is a man in the building line, out of work for four months. His wife makes the insides of match-boxes for her daughter at 1d per gross (this daughter has been twice married and is separated from her second husband; has four children). There is a son aged seventeen who earns 7s 6d a week, and four younger children, one in very bad health with bronchitis. The children want boots. Very poor, and very little to eat. Rent 3s 6d.

No. 14 is a shop kept by Mrs. Richards, who has lived in the neighbourhood for twenty-nine years and in this house for fifteen years, and is known by everybody. She saved little by little enough to start in business, and afterwards to enlarge it. Has living with her a daughter of about nineteen, and a son who is a 'bus driver; and she also maintains a niece. The daughter is also thrifty, and belongs to the National Penny Bank. She was educated at St. Andrew's. The son did not go to school, and went to work at nine. He was in Commissariat Transport Corps in Egyptian campaign, and might have been a sergeant if he had been better educated. Over the shop lives Mrs. Campbell, a widow, with one little boy.



No. 24. On ground floor lives Parrott, a flower hawker, who goes round the suburbs. His wife has been ill in bed since Christmas. The wife's brother stays with them, an army pensioner of weak sight and deaf. He has 10*d* a-day paid quarterly. His trade is tobacco-pipe making, but he is not working. On first floor lives Liston, an engineer, with his son, who is a printer, but not in full work. Both belong to the church club. A young woman named Dickson keeps house for them. They pay 5*s* for two rooms. Above them lives Renard, a satin weaver, of French Protestant descent, who once kept six looms. He has lived here forty years, and is now upwards of eighty, deaf and breathing badly. He came here in the year of the cholera, and remembers the horror of that time, "when every house in the street had its shutters up." He is a widower. His second wife died five years ago, after having deserted him.

No. 26. On ground floor is an old-clothes shop, kept by Mr. and Mrs. Trump. They say trade is slack. There are two grown-up sons, one of whom is a teetotaler. The father was a City kitchen porter, but lost use of right hand through blood poisoning. These are decent people. On this floor there lives also Farmer, a flower hawker, doing no work now. His wife works at the Sisters' Home two days a week, helping with the children's dinners, &c., earning 1*s* each time. They owe a month's rent at 3*s* 6*d* a week. Seem lazy and discontented. On first floor to left in the front lives Long, a toy-drum maker, with his wife. He makes them for 1½*d* each, finding all materials—tin frames, wooden hoops, parchment, paper covers, and string. They sell for 2*d*. The busy time is November, December, and January; other nine months slack. Sells part of what he makes himself, carrying them round on a pole. Goes to Woolwich, Notting Hill, Crystal Palace, &c. This couple have had eleven children, of whom only two survive. One of these is married, the other at home; a very diminutive girl of eleven, weak in the head and nearly blind. They have lived in the locality thirty-nine years, and say people live here a very long time. They say the street has much improved of late



years. To the right on this floor lives a son of the people on the ground floor (Trump). He is a japanner out of work, and his wife lies very ill in bed. They have three children and pay 3s 6d rent. To the back on this floor behind the Longs lives Wickham, a blacksmith, and his wife, both drunkards. The room in a filthy condition. Smell dreadful. Hardly any furniture except two beds. Sheets black. The man was in bed "sleeping it off;" two dirty little children were playing about. At the top in front to right lives Giraud, a painter, who has had no work for fifteen weeks, and was at home; a respectable looking man. His wife makes match-boxes, and says she has to work till midnight to get food. Her husband will not have work for another month. They have a baby and a boy of eighteen, who goes to work and belongs to the club. At the back there is Mrs. Fortune, a woman separated from her husband owing to his intemperance and violence. She makes match-boxes. This is the daughter of the woman at No. 12. Her work is slack in summer. She has been twice married and has four children, three being by first husband. Bright-looking children, short of boots. A quiet, respectable young woman. She believes her husband is ashamed of himself, and seemed prepared if he would amend to live with him again. On the top floor to the left front lives Taylor, a marble polisher, whose wife works at brush drawing, helped by one of the sons. An older son is a marble mason. The wife says she can do a dozen military brushes in a day, but the work has impaired her eyesight. At the back on this side there is a boot laster and his wife, a decent young couple with one baby.

No. 32. On ground floor Mrs. Pardon, a widow, keeps an old-clothes shop. She has five children to keep. Two others (daughters) are married, but cannot assist her. Very poor stock in the shop. Her children cannot go to school for want of boots. She used to make match-boxes, but has none to do now. Is very poor. On the first floor Dubois lives in the front room, a very respectable Frenchman with several children. The top is tenanted by a man and wife and two daughters, who seem to be out at work all the week and only in on Sunday.

## RUPERT PLACE.

This is a narrow street turning out of a main thoroughfare. At either end is a public-house, and between the two a row of some thirty six-roomed houses, back room and front room, three stories high. The public-house at the western end has its door in, and shares the custom of, the main road. It is quiet enough at noon, but at night is an attractive centre of warmth and light. That at the other end is a quiet old-fashioned looking house with a little space about it whereon some cocks and hens are pecking at the gravel. It aims only at local custom. In the street, equidistant from each other and the public-houses, are the enlarged windows of two miserable looking little shops. Both of course sell sweets; one adds loaves of bread and a supply of dripping, the other tins of condensed milk and bottles of ginger beer. In the row of houses, the front of which press upon the small foot-walks, window after window, at least amongst those on the level of the street, shows broken places in the glass. It may be a crack or the neat puncture of a stone, or a large piece may have been broken away, and some ingenuity has been displayed to avoid paying money to the glazier. In one place a neat lump of putty fills the place and holds the splinters firmly together; in another brown paper is pasted over, or the cardboard back of a book is inserted, or some garment stuffed into the hole. Some of the lower windows have white lace hanging curtains, meeting, or almost meeting, so as to give privacy to rooms which would otherwise have none, so exposed would all within them lie to the eye of every passer-by. Where there are hanging curtains they are usually draped round a little table on which some treasures are displayed, on two or three a little pile of books. Religious books generally, with some of poetry and perhaps history—prizes most likely, trophies of school days. Or there may be on a woolly mat, a “stand” of wax fruit or foreign shells. In one window there is a Christmas-tree,

which in spite of twelfth night come and gone, remains to remind the children of their winter festival. It is at all times a dark and dirty little street, but looks unusually desolate in a garb of grimy snow, with the outside shutters of many windows half closed for warmth and with nothing alive in the street but an itinerant vendor crying coke. This utter dulness is however only momentary. A group of children kick it away with an old hat for a football, and when I pass again have improved on that by lighting a fire in an old iron pot round which they gather in high delight. Some women stand at their doors and look out ready for a word with neighbours who may pass. A woman proceeds westward (*i.e.* towards the shops) empty-handed and returns with a rasher. An ill-fed looking girl makes her way eastward with three loaves in her arms, the make-weight piece, or "jockey" as it is sometimes called, riding atop of all. So the street looks in the dead of winter; in summer it would be more lively, but at all times it is a dull street. The tale of its inhabitants which follows represents one side only; on the other side in one part a clearance has lately been made of a bad set of people who had congregated there. It is too soon to take stock of the change effected. The street as described house by house comes out rather better than our previous account had led us to expect.

No. 2 is a public-house, well kept, tidy-looking children.

No. 4 is occupied by Griffiths, a blacksmith's hammer-man, age thirty-three. He drinks. His wife is a wretched sort of woman, and they have five children. They should be well off when the man is working, but the children are neglected. This family has lived in the parish many years. Low people. In the same house Marwood, a printer's labourer, wife and four children, occupy two rooms. They are poor. Another room is occupied by Sandford, a glass blower, his wife and two small children; a young couple who were very badly off last winter. And yet another by Nuttall, a young man of twenty, and his wife (lately married). He works for the vestry and the wife goes to work also. There is another family on the ground floor.



No. 6 is occupied by a brother of Griffiths at No. 4, and the wives are sisters also. In this family there are six children and none of them earning. The man met with an accident and has been ill for several weeks. He was in a club. As lodgers there are a widow and her son, a printer's labourer, occupying two rooms, and a woman, with one little child, separated from her husband—a very bad woman; and there is one room empty, a young couple having just left.

No. 8 was empty, but is just occupied. The people not known.

No. 10 is occupied by Mrs. Lynch, a widow, with two boys at the parish schools and two more children at home. An unsatisfactory person. At first her sister lived with her and they had a mangle. They pleaded great poverty. Mrs. Lynch drinks. Several other families used to live here, but the rooms are vacant at present.

No. 12 is occupied by Mrs. Stephen, a widow, with one son at work. She is not very poor and at any rate never asks for help; occupies the two kitchens and one other room. Another room is let to Mrs. Meek, a widow or old single woman. A satisfactory person. Two more rooms are occupied by Farley, a labourer of forty-two, who works in Queen's works. He is very unwell. His wife does monthly nursing or cleaning. They have one girl, who has turned out badly; stops out at night and gives her mother what she likes, perhaps 3s a week. There are three younger children, the youngest two or three years old. The man has been a drunkard and has been laid up for months together with bronchitis and asthma. They are very poor.

No. 14. Peters, a bookbinder, lives here, age forty-three; his wife is forewoman at a fur store close by. They have five children, one a boy; has probably just gone to work; others are at school. They are pretty well off. A sister of Mrs. Peters lodges with them and has no trade. She looks after the children while Mrs. Peters is at work. In the front parlour there is Johnson, a labourer, with nothing to do. He has a wife, but there are no children. They are Roman Catholics. The man is steady and they never ask for help.

No. 16 is occupied by Pole, a carman, in regular work, with a delicate wife and six children. The children were all ill one



after the other last winter with measles and bronchitis, and the wife paid 5s a week for the dispensary doctor during the whole time. A boy of fourteen of good character earns 5s a week; others are of school age. These people are poor, but not very poor. The wife is very thrifty and the children go to St. Barnabas' school, where clothes are given them. The lodgers do not pay rent regularly. One of the lodgers is Huntington, a bricklayer's labourer, with wife and four children. The wife did a little needlework, but she drinks. The man was out of work for twelve weeks in the winter. A very poor set. In another room are a young couple with two little children. The man, a painter, was out of work for some time last winter.

No. 18. A high house with railings in front. In the kitchens lives Verney, a market porter of fifty. His wife does mangling. They have three children, one of whom, a young woman, goes to work, and a boy has just begun to go. On the ground floor, in one room, there is Mrs. Watson, a widow with one daughter, who goes to work and earns 8s a week by gilding the edges of picture mounts. She is a cripple and hump-backed. In the back room another widow, Mrs. Casson, lives with two grown-up daughters who go to work. She has some sons; one, a soldier, comes home sometimes. Mrs. Casson dresses well and is probably comfortably off. She is not very friendly to the visitor. On the first floor there is a young man called Bernard, a leather dresser, whose wife is a daughter of Mrs. Watson, and does the same work as her unmarried sister. The Bernards have a little girl which the grandmother minds, being paid 2s 6d a week for this. On the top floor in front live Quaritch and his wife and two children, one an infant. The man, age thirty-four, is a costermonger. His wife used also to go out, and they would attend race meetings, &c., and earn about 9s a day. Now she has regular work at a laundry.

No. 20 is occupied by Lundy, a carpenter, a man who drinks dreadfully. His wife does book-folding. They have had a number of children, but all, except one, died young, and she is half-witted; a girl of twelve. A widow lodges here with one daughter, occupying two rooms. They work together, taking in washing, and are quite respectable, but quite poor. Other

children have gone out into the world; one son is in the army. There may be also a man lodger.

No. 22 was occupied by bad tenants, who have been cleared out. There was a widow whose husband died in a lunatic asylum. A dirty, miserable woman. On the first floor there was a woman who drank, and at the top a man suffering from consumption, and a woman (his wife) who led a bad life. Two new families have just moved in.

No. 36. The ground floor is a shop kept by people who do not live here. In the room over the shop is a young married couple with one little boy. The man drinks frightfully and there are often disturbances. In the back upper room lives Hames, a costermonger, who sells fish, with wife and three children. One of the children has been sent to a home at St. Albans. Hames probably drinks, as he seldom brings any money home. His wife used to work, but was very ill after her last confinement and has done no work since. The home used to be clean, but is not so now. It is always poor. There is another room off the stairs which is empty.

No. 38 is occupied by Trenholme, his wife and little girl, with a married daughter and her husband upstairs. This house always seems comfortable. They have not been here long.

No. 40. Occupied by Duckinfield, a man about thirty, who was in the electric light works, but is now working for a brick-layer. He has been very uncertain. Was out of work for four or five months and pawned everything. The wife does mangling, but is much too delicate to keep it up, so does anything she can get. She washes for the Boys' Home. There are five children; the eldest, a boy, at work, who earns 4s per week. Mrs. Duckinfield is very ill now; she starves herself for her children. When her husband is in work they pull up arrears. For lodgers they have in the front room (rent 4s) Maitland, a "coachman," who "does anything he can in stables." Mrs. Maitland says they are in a terrible state of poverty. They are quite old people, sixty and sixty-two respectively. They sold a table and looking-glass the other day for 12s 6d to get food and pay rent. In the back room (rent 3s 6d) lives Grindley, who is in consumption, dying. His wife does charring, and has three days a week at the hospital at 1s 6d a day. The man was a butcher, and

afterwards potman in a public-house. Has come down through drink. He is only thirty, his wife is forty-two. She is very good to him.

No. 42. Occupied by Brock, a cooper, who lives in rooms over the warehouse where the barrels are kept. These rooms are reached by a narrow ladder. He has a wife and two little children, and used to have an old father living here, but he is dead. Mrs. Brock's friends are pretty well off and send her into the country every year.

No. 44 is occupied by Bellingham and his wife; young people of about twenty-two years of age, who have two children, four and two years old. He is a lead cutter and earns about 18s a week. They have had trouble with their lodgers. Always very poor. The wife is better than others in the street. Kingston, a man of about sixty, and his daughters occupy a back room. He used to be a lamplighter and earned 21s a week; now does a little cobbling. His wife (fifty-seven) is in an asylum. She has been subject to fits of insanity since the birth of her first child. One daughter has come home from service to attend to her father; two others are in service, and there are two sons living away; one a policeman. Kingston is respectable but poor. In a front room live Mr. and Mrs. Simpson. He is a printer's labourer, making 22s or 23s a week. His wife drinks. There are two little children.

No. 46. Occupied by Crawley, a man of forty, a carman in regular work, earning about 28s a week. This man five or six years ago was in a state of destitution. The visitor had found him and his then wife and children in a cellar in this street, the children in a fearful state, alive with vermin. The children were placed in homes; the wife died. He has since married again, and the children have come home. There are also two by the second wife. The eldest boy and girl are at work. The girl earns 6s per week sewing on buttons, and the family are quite well off. They had as lodger an old woman of seventy, who has parish relief and is helped by sons and daughters. She has just now gone to live with a married son. At the top of the house lives a family—no particulars known.

There are 17 more houses on this side of the street.



*Golden Place.* This is a *cul-de-sac*, and not easily found. The most careful directions to take such and such roads and turns would probably fail in their object. Nor do I desire that this little place should become common property; so I prefer to blindfold any reader who will accompany me, and will only remove the bandage as we turn into the place itself. There are posts across its mouth, and as we pass them a boy warns us that there is no thoroughfare this way. We are told the same thing by a woman from her doorstep when we reach the far end, and it becomes evident that we must turn back. Whichever way we now look the view is picturesque. The houses, on many of which creepers hang, are real cottages, old of construction, usually with two rooms only, unsanitary most likely, falling to pieces certainly and visibly. They are set two and two, the front doors together, with windows to right and left alternately. They stand some distance back from the roadway, and being of one storey only there is air and light and even a sense of spaciousness, very rarely found in the quarters of the poor in London. In front of each pair of cottages is a little garden or yard—desolate little places, filled with the *débris* of poor folks' lives, things for which some use may yet be found, but which are meanwhile cleared out from the limited space within doors. Dividing each pair of cottages from the next is an outbuilding consisting of two washhouses set back to back—small one-storey structures, shabby enough, but quaint. Several of the women are busy over their boilers in these outhouses, and there is a "not in London" air about the whole. If it were not for the backs of the high adjoining houses, which speak of nothing but London, we should think we were in some old town in the Eastern Counties.

Golden Place is old—much older as to the buildings than Rupert Place—but it was marsh for many a year after Rupert Street was built, a solid causeway among the dykes which drained the surrounding ground. The following is an account of some of its inhabitants in 1890.

There are in all 32 houses, for all of which we have similar particulars:—



No.		Rms. Pers.				
1	ground front	1	1	(B)	Widow, living alone.	Very poor, probably has out relief. Married daughter helps.
	ground back	1	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Dustman. Precarious work. Yard sometimes closed.
	first front	1	3	(B)	Man, wife, and 1 young child.	Labourer, now in regular work. Wife nearly blind. Struggling poor.
	first back	1	2	(D)	Man and wife, no children.	Labourer.
2	ground front	1	6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Labourer. Work uncertain and wife drinks.
	ground back	1	3	(D)	Three young women.	Respectable working women.
	first front	1	2	(B)	Man and wife, no children.	Dustman, but now in infirmary with bronchitis and bad legs. Both man and wife drinkers and very poor.
	first back	1	2		Man and wife, no children.	No particulars.
3	ground	2	4	(D)	Widower and 3 children.	Labourer, regular work. Eldest child keeps house, the others go to school. Do fairly well.
	first floor	2	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Printer's labourer, regular work. Are not very poor.
4		2	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Labourer, irregular work.
		1	3	(B)	Old couple and widow.	Man's work is falling off and he will need relief. Widow lives in same room. Dirty and extremely poor.
		1			Empty.	
5		2	2	(E)	Man and wife (second wife).	Coal porter, in regular work. Has grown-up sons; is doing tolerably comfortably.
		1	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Labourer, fairly regular, about 20s a week. Wife would work if she could get it.
		1	2	(D)	Man and wife, no children.	Middle-aged people. Not extremely poor.
6		2	3	(D)	Man, wife, and baby.	Old man past work. Hobbles about. Lately married to a young wife.
		1	6		Man, wife, and 4 young children.	Labourer, casual work. Very poor.
		1	1	(B)	Widow, alone.	Sorts in dust yard.

*Island Street.* This street looks poor enough. It has houses of many kinds, but nearly all small, with usually a frontage of only 12 ft. Some are very old tumble-down cottages. There are present all the usual signs of great poverty in the condition of the houses and the appearance of the inhabitants. There are three or four public-houses and three or four sweet-stuff shops and a greengrocer, who sells also wood and perhaps coal, and a baker. The sweet shops divide amongst them the other requirements—toys are sold at one, lamp glasses at another, with jams and pickles; apples, oranges and nuts at a third, with teetotal drinks. Rival soaps vie for the poor man's custom, advertising themselves by means of enamelled tablets attached to the walls of these little shops. At the entrance from the main road on the corner opposite to that occupied by the public-house is a cake shop, where there is a bar for the sale of temperance drinks "on draught"—cold drinks for summer, hot drinks for winter. This is a growing trade, and especially thrives on Sunday mornings before the public-houses open. The ginger-beer and shandygaff seem liked, failing anything better. Particulars of some of the houses follow:—

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
1	shop, &c.	5	(E)	One family.	Sell hot drinks. Good trade. Comfortable.	
2	ground floor	2	1	(D)	Widow, 60 years old.	Lets house and does odd jobs.
	first floor	3	2	(A)	Two young women.	Wood - choppers and prostitutes (have since left).
	second floor	2	2	(C)	Deserted woman and son (21).	Woman at jam factory. Son (idle) at docks.
3	house	3	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 or 5 children.	Window-cleaning. Has lost his work. Children at school.
		1	2	(B)	Widow (45) and baby, 18 months.	Monthly nurse. Husband died lately. She was second wife.
4	house	4	3	(E)	Young man, mother, and sister.	Situation in City. Keeps his mother and sister.
5	house	4	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 or 5 children.	Foreman at works. Eldest boy (19) dying of consumption.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
48	house	4	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Irregular dock labourer. Wife drinks. Very poor. Rooms very small.
49	house	4	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Man at sea. Wife a drunkard. Two children at work.
50		3	3	(B)	Man, wife, and adopted child.	Elderly man. Ill and can't work. Wife does washing, &c.; works very hard. Very poor. Small pension.
		1	1	(B)	Old lady lodger.	
51	house	3 and shop	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Fish dealer. Could do well, but closes the shop and goes on the spree for about half the week. A wretched family.
52	house	very small	2	(B)	Widow and son.	There were 2 sons who worked in docks—very steady fellows—but one has lately died of consumption, and the other is suffering from same disease. Very clean, decent, and never beg. Helped by a married daughter a little.
53	ground	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Dock labourer; fair earnings. A bad wife—drinking and vicious.
	first	2	3	(C)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Labourer. Drink.
54		2	1	(E)	Single man.	Has a mangle and does a good trade.
		1	1	(B)	Widow.	Charing. Drinks very much.
55					Two families.	Just come in.
56		2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and children.	Lighterman. Earns good wages but is reckless, and goes off for weeks sometimes.
					Two other families.	No particulars.
57	ground	2	3	(D)	Man, wife, and daughter.	Was in Marines and has pension. Wife an invalid. Daughter works. Just manage.
	first		5	(C)	Man, wife, and children.	Wood choppers.
	second		5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Dock labourer. Irregular and poor.
58	New-comers.					
59	public-house.					
60	house		2	(E)	Man and wife.	Baker's shop. Doing comfortably.

*Sunnyside Terrace.* This is an excellent specimen of a casual and coster street of rather the better kind. The roadway is narrow and very dirty with unswept mud and heaps of garbage, and, on a Wednesday at noon, is blocked with empty barrows, which, when evening comes, will be loaded and away to the market street near by. From one barrow some men are unloading a purchase of Portugal onions and passing them through into the house, whence they will emerge as needed. The houses are quite small, two storeys with one room on each, and 12 ft. frontage. They are in fair outward order and have even a little attempt at ornament in the brickwork. There are broken windows, but not so many as may sometimes be seen. Fewer are broken, or else more are mended. The people have a rough look, almost savage, but appear to be in good physical condition. The children seem well fed, and if they are the recipients of the free meals, which are given largely in this district, do credit to the food they get. There is, undoubtedly, great poverty amongst these people, and especially a great irregularity—plenty one day or one week and little or nothing the next—which must be particularly hard upon the young.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
1	house	2	4	(C)	Widower, 1 son, and 2 daughters.	Coster, doing very little for want of stock. Son sells greens. Daughters were at jam factory now out of work.
2	house	2	4	(B)	Widow and 3 children.	Washing &c. Son works a little. Girls just leaving school.
3	house	2	10	(B)	Man, wife, and 8 children.	Coster, owns his barrow. 2 sons at work.
4	house	4	2	(E)	Two brothers.	Work in fish market. Earnings vary. Had a sister with them but she has left.
5	house	4	8	(B)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Metal work, irregular. One girl collar factory. Very poor.
6	house	3	6	(B)	Widow and 5 grown sons.	Mangle. All 5 sons casual waterside labourers. Very irregular work and very badly off in consequence.
8	house	4	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Casual labourer. 3 children at work. Tidy family.



N	Rms.	Pers.			
9	3	5	(C)	Widow, and 4 grown sons.	Goes out with barrow. Sons work riverside easually.
	1	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Costermonger. 2 children at school. Very needy.
10	2	3	(B)	Man, wife, and 1 grown son.	Waterside work, very easual. Son has been ill.
	2	4	(B)	Young couple, and 2 ehildren.	Waterside work. Woman is daughter of the above.
11	4	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 sons.	Brushmaker. All help. Poor, but get a living.
12	3	6	(D)	Man, wife, son, and 3 children.	Brushmaker. Son works as smith. Just manage.
	1	2	(B)	Man and wife, no children.	Sell in the streets. Very poor.
13	3	2	(D)	Aged couple.	Man works on roads, earning 20s a week.
	1	1	(D)	Widow by herself.	Sells watereresses in streets. Lived here 13 years.
14	3	8	(B)	Man, wife, and 6 little children.	Both employed, brush drawing. Work is irregular, and they are very poor.
	1	1	(B)	Widow by herself.	Brush drawing.
15	2	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Small shop and mends umbrellas. Steady people.
	2	2	(D)	Another couple.	Son of the above. Also umbrella mender.
16	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Costermonger. Wife chars. Both drink.
	2	6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Flower hawkers. Very poor.
17	1	6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 ehildren.	Make paper flowers and sell in streets. Woman is very ill.
	1	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Irregular work.
	1	2	(B)	Widow and 1 child.	Hawker.
	1	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Hawkers.
18	2	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Costers. Trade is bad and they are very poor. Decent deserving people.
	1	5	(B)	Widow and 4 children.	Makes paper kites. Girl at factory. 3 young children.

There are 30 more houses.

*Lady Street.* This street in its great length shades off from pink to dark blue, the centre portion being purple. It is the dark blue part of which some details are given below. The part chosen is not the poorest to be found, for there is a lower depth in a wretched block of half-empty tenements on the opposite side of the street, where congregate the poorest of the poor. The houses are, some of them, unoccupied, and almost all have cracked or broken windows. In addition to the usual children, many of the women, when the street was seen, were on the side walk, or on their door steps, or stretching their necks out of upper windows. Something of interest it seemed had lately happened. They nearly all looked pinched and miserable. One woman leaning out held, inattentively, a sickly-looking baby, coughing persistently in the cold foggy air. The following particulars show less poverty than might have been expected.

No.		Rms. Pers.				
13	half house	4	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 small children.	Glue works, 20s a week. Wife ill. Respectable, but poor.
	half house				Empty.	
15		3	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 sons.	Plasterer, often out of work. Wife does nursing. Grown son at work; other boy at school. Wife drinks terribly.
		1	2	(C)	2 single men lodgers.	No particulars.
		2	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Son of plasterer, irregular work.
		1	4	(C)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Labourer, very dirty.
		1	2	(C)	Man and wife, no children.	Labourer, very dirty.
17		4	3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Man in regular work. Comfortable.
19		2	2	(B)	Widow and daughter.	Washing and ironing. Daughter an invalid.
		1	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Hatter. Wife daughter of the widow. Get along.
		1	2	(C)	Man and wife, no children.	Waterside labourer, regular work now, but often out.
21		4	3	(F)	Man, wife, and grown son.	All have regular work. Very comfortable.

No	Rms. Pers.			
33	3	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.
	3	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.
35	6	5	(E)	Man, wife, grown son, and 2 children.
37	6	8	(B)	Man, wife, and 6 children.
39	3	8	(B)	Man, wife, and 6 children.
	3	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.
41	3	3	(B)	Old couple and 1 boy.
	3	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 children.
43	3	2	(C)	Young couple, no children.
	3	3	(D)	Man, wife, and 1 child.
45	3	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.
	3	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.
47	6	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 grown children.
49	6	3	(F)	Man, wife, and 1 child.
51	3		(C)	Widow and 2 sons.
	4		(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.
	1		(C)	Another woman.

Warehouseman, regular work. Comfortable.

Tailor, working elsewhere. Comfortable.

Labourer. Wife takes washing. Quite comfortable.

Small shop, and sell wood with a cart. 2 children at work. Poor, but keep the house.

Carman, much out of work. Wife works and one boy. Very poor.

Carman, good work.

Man has been on tramp harvesting. Asks for relief; the boy is at school. Very poor.

Labourer. The wife is daughter of the old man. All drink more or less and are very poor.

Labourer, out of work. Poor at present.

Labourer, constant work. About 20s. Comfortable.

Hatter, out of work for 17 weeks. Wife does not work and is given to drink. Home comfortable. Have not yet begun to sell their things. Very poor.

Regular work, not over 25s. Children all at school. Clean and neat.

Man failed in business. Staying here till he finds something else.

Fish hawker, does well. Not at all poor. Goes for holiday at seaside every year. Probably earns £3 a week.

The sons keep their mother, but are out of work now, and poor.

Labourer. Young married people.

Living with the widow.

*Henley Street.* This street forms two sides of a quadrangle, in the centre of which lies Chicken Place, and it is in Chicken Place that we find the pith and marrow of the whole block. In it every house seems to be occupied by costermongers, and the narrow roadway (on a Monday afternoon) is lined and blocked by their empty carts and barrows. Chicken Place, turning out of one part, runs parallel to the other part of Henley Street. At the further end of the place, foot-passengers can pass through a narrow archway into Bewley Street, which forms the third side of the quadrangle. The fourth is Pewter Lane itself; the market, and especially the Sunday morning market, of the neighbourhood. The inhabitants of Henley Street are not all costers, nor yet all poor, but poverty is very general. The poor are a reckless, improvident, hand-to-mouth set of people, and it is not easy to class such with accuracy according to their means. The Pewter Lane end or "reach" of Henley Street is the poorest, being in effect an extension of Chicken Place. Monday being cleaning day, this part of the street was being cleared of the scattered refuse of Saturday and Sunday's market preparation. Garbage abounded, and at the far end of Chicken Place lay neglected in heaps. From the back part of a house in Henley Street, manure had just been removed, leaving its litter down the passage and through the house, by which way only access could be had to the home of the animal in the rear. In such streets as these a pony or donkey entering or leaving by the front door of a house is no uncommon sight.

Particulars of two portions of this street follow :—

No.	Rms.	Pers.		
19	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 grown-up sons.	Night watchman. Lads seldom in work. Mother chars.
21	8	(C)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Broker's man. Attends sales. Eldest daughter 14.
23	8	(B)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Jobbing man, always out of work. Wife has been very ill.
25	9	(D)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Shoemaker, works out. As comfortable as any in street.
27	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Flower hawkers.



No.	Rms. Pers.				
36	1	1	(B)	Widow.	Sells penny toys.
	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	No information.
	1			Empty.	
34	1	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Leather trade. Children grown up and away.
	1	4	(C)	Another family.	No information.
32	1	6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	No information.
	1	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Nigger minstrel. Very poor. Helped.
30	2	7	(A)	Man, wife, and about 5 children.	Sells mussels. Dreadful set of people. Eldest daughter in prison for an assault.
28	1	3	(B)	Man, wife, and a child.	Both families are recent arrivals, and a rough lot.
	1	4	(B)	Another family.	
26	2	7	(B)	Man, wife, and large family.	No information.
24	2	7	(B)	Man, wife, and a lot of children.	Dust-yard work. Very dirty people.
22	No dwelling-house here, only a gateway.				
20	2	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Very poor.
18				Empty.	
16	2	5	(B)	Man, wife, and some children.	Wood chopping. Man cannot work, his wife does it. Some of the elder children are at home.
	2	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	No information.
14	3	9	(B)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Parents work at fish curing. One girl of 16.
12	3	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Fish curer on own account. Comfortable.
10	2	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Hawks vegetables.
	1	1	(C)	Lodger.	
	3	4	(C)	Man, wife, and 2 boys.	Fish curer out of work. Boys belong to a relative.
6	3	4	(C)	Man, wife, and 2 boys.	Fish curer. Boys are at work. Wife is in infirmary. Poor, has been a bad year.
4	2	6		Man, wife, and 4 children.	Man just out of lunatic asylum.
	1			Another family.	No information.
2				Empty.	



No.		Rms. Pers.				
8	four-roomed house	4	8	(E)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Man works at fishmonger's. Have the house and keep going.
9	,,	1	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Carman. All children at school. Poor.
		1	4	(B)	Widow and 3 children.	Ironer in regular work.
		1	2	(D)	Man and wife, no children.	Occupation unknown.
		1	1	(E)	Single man.	Lodger.
10	ground floor	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, 2 children and old man.	General dealer(no shop). Old man, wife's father, has a room upstairs. Supported by them.
	first floor	2	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Lost his place and does nothing. Very poor.
11	ground floor	2	3	(E)	Man, wife, and son.	Shoemaker and mender. Son helps and sells papers. Strong teetotalers.
		1	4	(B)	Widow and 3 children.	Work by the day. Gets parish relief for children.
		1	3	(D)	Man and wife, and 1 child.	Dustman.
12	ground floor	2	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Carman, gets about 20s (or 22s) a week.
	first front	1	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Labourer, apparently in regular work.
	back	1	1	(D)	Widow alone.	Earns enough at laundry to live on.
13		1	3	(B)	Widow and 2 children.	Works at laundry.
		1	2	(C)	Widower and 1 girl.	Works on barges. Girl does a little in house.
		1	4	(C)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Works on barges. Wife makes tool baskets.
14		3	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 sons.	Road sweeper for vestry. Very rough and drink.
		1	2		Two young men.	Lodgers.
15		4	8	(E)	Man and wife, and 4 children, and man's father and brother.	Works on the roads; other men for the vestry. Father is a widower, brother unmarried.
16		2	8	(D)	Man and wife, and 6 children.	Can just manage, about 20s a week.
	back room	1	4	(B)	Deserted woman, 3 young children.	Works at stores for 12s a week.
	front	1	6	(D)	Man and wife, and 4 children.	Billposter. Poor family.
17		2	5	(B)	Man and wife, and 3 children.	Unknown occupation. Just live.

*Sun and Moon Courts.* Looked at from one point of view these cottages have a good deal of picturesque attractiveness; from another point of view they are "wretched shanties." They are built back to back, and have small open spaces in front in both directions which may be called gardens or yards according to the observer's fancy; the two words were perhaps originally the same, and have come once more to represent a distinction with very little difference. Pushed forward on to these spaces from the cottage fronts are the outbuildings containing wash-house, &c., which usually occupy a yard, and round about is the beaten earth, which stands for garden, but in which no green thing grows. The people who dwell here look as poverty-stricken as the houses.

## (SUN COURT.)

No.		Rms.		Pers.		
1	house	3	8	(C)	Man, wife, and 6 young children.	Painter. Steady and industrious, but has bad health. No work in winter. Regular the rest of the year. Wife sews.
2	house	3	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Father and two sons work at docks. Get good money. Never ask anything.
3	house	3	3	(C)	Widow and 2 daughters.	Woman goes out cleaning. One girl at school. New-comers.
4	house	3	6	(C)	Man, wife, and children.	Works at docks. Roman Catholic family.
5	house	3	2	(C)	Man and wife. No children at home.	Wife takes in washing. Daughter in service, at home ill sometimes. Ask for nothing, but will take what is given.
6	house	3			New-comers.	There have been three families in the last three months.
7	house	3	2	(C)	Widower and 1 daughter.	Works at docks. Girl of 11, stays from school when she can. Were poor when mother died. Man not very steady.



No.		Rms. Pers.				
8	house	3	2	(E)	Man and wife. No children.	Works at docks. Tidy and independent people.

## (MOON COURT.)

1	house	3	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 or 4 children, and grandfather.	Shipwright. Out of work a great deal. The old man is an army pensioner.
2	house	3	2	(D)	Man and wife. No children.	Works at docks. Wife takes in washing. Comfortable. Industrious woman, but drinks a little.
3	house	3	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Regular work at docks. Wife does washing. One girl kept at home from school. Not very comfortable.
4	house	3	4	(C)	Man, wife, and 2 or 3 children.	Man out of work. Coal wharf where he worked is closed. Respectable but poor now.
5	house	3	1	(B)	Deserted woman (alone).	Stepson helps her. Has asked for parish relief. Used to have some one living with her.
6	house	3	2	(C)	Mother and daughter.	Take in washing, &c. Daughter's husband in asylum. Doubtful characters.
7	house	3	2	(E)	Man and wife (daughter in service).	Carman. In regular work. Wife does nothing.
8	house	3	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 or 3 children.	Dock labourer. Wife does washing. House and children very dirty. Man drinks. A reprobate family. Not poor.

*Moreton Place.* The information I have as to this street is as follows: "The men are almost entirely casual labourers. The earnings are in some cases supplemented by the wife or children's work. The people appear for the most part in constant want. Their houses and personal appearance denote great poverty and show much want of cleanliness. They are considered an idle and quarrelsome set of people. The figures given as earnings are *rates* of wages only, the amount actually received depends on the number of days worked."

No.	Rms. Pers.				
22	2	4	(C)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Builder's labourer, 23s.
23	1	2	(B)	Man and wife.	Coster. The wife sells flowers. Are short of stock money. Very poor and rough.
	1	3	(A)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Painter's labourer. In prison for assaulting his wife. Drank wife's savings and everything. Wife in great poverty.
24	2	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Builder's labourer, 23s to 26s.
25	2	3	(B)	Widow and 2 children.	Costermonger. Has a bad character among his neighbours. Earnings very variable.
26	2	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Builder's labourer, as is also eldest son, 23s.
28	3	9	(D)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Labourer, 20s to 24s. Seldom out of work. Bright and clean home. Two girls shortly going into service.
29	2	5	(B)	Widow and 4 children.	Washing, &c. Two sons who earn—one stable lad 11s irregularly, the other odd jobs. Her work very uncertain.
30				No information.	
31	4	8	(B)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Plumber. In ill-health, is often out of work. Home supported by wife and children. She chars.
32	1	1	(B)	An old woman.	Has parish relief.
	1	1	(C)	Single man.	Mason's labourer, 23s.
33	3	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Builder's labourer. Wife chars.
	1	1	(B)	Old relative.	Supported by the above.
34	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Bricklayer.
36	4	9	(C)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Costermonger. Two sons work also.

There are 44 houses in all.

*Latin Place South.* This is one of a nest of small streets near one of the great markets of London. Latin Place South turns out of Latin Place, which runs out of Latin Street, the latter in turn leading from an equally narrow and unsavoury thoroughfare. It is a dirty, paved court, very narrow at the entrance, but widening out enough at the end to hold two broken-down closets and a dustbin, which serve for the whole court. The tenements which are rented at about 4s a week, are old, one-storeyed, two-roomed cottages, dark and unsanitary. Some of the people are said to be almost starving, but will not go into "the house," and the Guardians refuse them out-relief.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
1	cottage	2	8	(B)	Man, wife, and 6 young children.	Gardener, out of work. Wife lately confined. Semi-starvation. Is Helped by charity.
2	cottage	2	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 young children.	Paralyzed. Wife does mangling. Dreadful poverty.
3	cottage	2	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Labourer, out of work. Wife trying for work. One boy doing a little. Exceedingly poor.
4	cottage	2	2	(E)	Man and wife, no children.	Bricklayer. Get on all right.
5	cottage	2	3	(B)	Widow and two sons.	Woman goes out washing. One son general labourer, out of work. One son an idiot.
6	cottage	2	6	(B)	Widower and his mother, 4 children.	Wife lately dead, all young children. Man out of work a great deal. Unsatisfactory character.
7	cottage	2	3	(B)	Man, wife, and 1 girl at home.	Carpenter, unsteady and indifferent. Often out of work. Wife very delicate. Extreme poverty.
8	cottage		6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 young children.	Navy. Drinks at times but keeps his work. Does fairly.
9	double	1	1	(D)	Man (living alone).	Cobbler. Little work. Very poor. Man's mother, who lived with him, died lately.
		1	1	(D)	Single woman (elderly).	Supported by ladies for whom she has worked.
		2			Empty.	

*Greek Row.* This is close to Latin Place South, but does not look quite so poor and miserable. From No. 9, the houses, which were in a disgraceful state, have been done up, by order of the vestry, which brightens the appearance of the place a little. It is a narrow street of two or three-roomed houses, with no backs, and has a small general shop at one corner. Rents about 6s a week. A group of rough, dirty children are quarrelling as we pass, and using the vilest language, whilst a woman, with unkempt hair, stands with arms akimbo in the doorway of her dwelling. The inhabitants of this and the surrounding streets form a colony of poor and unusually rough people, in the midst of a neighbourhood which is generally of a much better character.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
1	4-roomed house	2	4	(C)	Widower and 3 children at home.	Labourer, was a painter. Ruined by drink. Nearly always in drink. Older children have left home.
		2			Empty.	Another family just gone.
2		3	3	(A)	Widow and 2 sons.	Laundry work. Sons, labourers; ruffians, been in prison more than once. Money enough for drink.
		1	2	(C)	2 young men lodgers.	A rowdy lot.
3 & 4					Condemned, closed up.	
5	3-roomed house	2	4	(D)	Separated wife, 3 grown-up children.	Does charing. One boy a scamp, one in work. Girl (14) does a little. Get on fairly.
		1	1	(E)	Single man, brother of above.	Regular work.
6	3-roomed house				New-comers.	No particulars.
7	3-roomed house	2	3	(E)	Widow and 2 grown sons.	Carmen, keep their mother.
		1	1	(E)	Single man lodger.	



No.		Rms.	Pers.			
8	3-roomed house	3	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 young children.	Road sweeper for vestry. Keep the house. Very poor but decent.
9	3-roomed house	2	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Old man. Come down through drink and now laid up with accident. Owns the house.
		1	2	(E)	2 single-men lodgers.	
10	3-roomed house	3	7	(C)	Man, wife, and 5 young children.	Coal porter, fair wages. Drank, but has signed the pledge.
11	3-roomed house	3	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 sons.	Wood-chopper, does not work; a drunkard and now ill. Wife makes artificial flowers and keeps the house, but has not much work. One boy an idiot. Very poor.
12	2-roomed house	2	3	(B)	Man, wife, and daughter.	Man. chronic invalid. Wife chars three or four days a week. Daughter at home ill, was in service. Extreme poverty. Very worthy people. Helped by charity.
13	2-roomed house		3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 son.	Coal porter. Wife does washing. Boy at work. Other children married. Do fairly.
14	2-roomed house		2	(B)	Widow and son.	A little washing. Son does not keep his work. Unsettled. Other children away but can't help. Very poor.
15	2-roomed house		6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Carpenter, pawned his tools; indifferent character. Wife chars a little. Boy of 14 at work. Very poor.
16	2-roomed house	2	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 young children.	Ink-maker. Respectable and comfortable.
17	shop and 2 rooms	2	3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Small general shop. Have a mangle and do well.

*Tabernacle Yard.* There is little left of this old place. It is evident that it once was quite narrow from end to end, but it now is so in one part only, and a clearance of the buildings on one side has already been made there. The few inhabited houses lie pretty much together, and although attempts have been made to patch and brighten them up a little, their ancient and rickety character is unmistakable. The ground floor is occupied by a shop, the tenant of which in most cases lives elsewhere; and each floor above comprises one good-sized room, with the low and blackened ceiling, and heavy beams, which are sure signs of a style of building which has passed away. When these houses in their turn give way to business premises, nothing will be left of old Tabernacle Yard but the name.

No.		Rms.	Per.			
25	gr. floor	1	4	(C)	Man, wife, and 2 sons.	Shoemaker. Does well, but drinks it all. Sons have been in army, now loaf about and do odd jobs. Riotous lot.
	1st „	1	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children at home.	Casual scavenger. Wife takes washing. Older children away, do not help. Have lived in parish all their lives. Decent. Poor.
	2nd „	1	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Casual labourer. Wife goes out to work. Children go to school. Man and woman drink and fight. Wretched home. Earn fairly.
	3rd „	1	6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 young children.	Casual porter. Wife cleans. Tidy home, but very poor.
26	gr. floor	1			Coffee shop.	People live elsewhere.
	1st „	1	6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 young children.	Wife does washing. Just struggle along. Drink sometimes.
	2nd „	1	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 young children.	Casual labourer. Wife goes out to work. Do fairly.
	3rd „	1	8	(D)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Porter. Regular work. Eldest boy (16) works. Wife does some work. Poor, decent people.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
27	coal shop	2 and 4	4 (E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Comfortably off.	
	3rd floor	1	4 (D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Pay their way. Wife does some work at home.	
28	ground and 1st floor			Grocer's shop.	Manager lives elsewhere.	
	2nd „	1	5 (B)	Widow and 3 young children and grandmother.	Widow works at a furrier's. Very poor.	
	3rd „	1	7 (B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Man loafs and drinks. Wife and one son works. Home untidy, and very poor at times.	
29				Warehouse.		
30	gr. floor	1	2 (E)	Man and wife (elderly Jews).	Second-hand shop. Do fairly.	
	back	1	1 (B)	Old lady aged 80.	Helped by relations and charity. An old resident.	
	1st floor	1	2 (E)	Man and wife. No children.	Both work. Comfortable.	
	2nd „	1	6 (D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Man and wife both work, as does eldest girl (16). Do fairly.	
	3rd „			Empty.		
31	gr. floor			Shop.	People live elsewhere.	
	1st „	1	6 (B)	Widow, 4 children, and friend.	The two women work at a factory. One grown-up son has been at hospital. Very poor. Respectable character.	
	2nd „	1	5 (B)	Man, wife, and 3 young children.	Wife does not work. Very poor. Respectable.	
	3rd „	1	4 (B)	Man, wife, and 2 young children.	Man out of work a great deal. Lazy, and, though not a regular drunkard, spends his time at the public-house. His wife supports the family. Very poor.	

*Marshall Street.* This street is a murky combination of business and poverty. It runs parallel to a great leading thoroughfare, and the distance is not so great but that some establishments in the main street extend rear-wards so as to have a back entrance in Marshall Street. Where this is not the case, it is probable that the backs of the houses are closely built up, for space here is very valuable. A casual passer-by would not suppose that the residents in a few houses on one side only of this street would yield a list so long as that which follows:—

No.		Rms.	Pers.		
64	kitchen	1	1	(B)	Widow (alone). Very poor.
	gr. front	1	6	(B)	Widow and 5 children. 2 boys earn 11s. A great struggle.
	gr. back	1	3	(D)	Widow and 2 boys. Makes cheap portman-teaus. 2 boys help. Man often out of work.
	1st front	1	5	(B)	Young couple and 3 children. Man often out of work. Bad health.
	back	1	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 children. Jew tailor, nearly blind. Wife does button holes. Very poor.
	2nd front	1	8	(B)	Man, wife, and 6 children. No information.
	back	1			New-comers. No information.
	3rd front	1			New-comers. No information.
	back	1	1	(B)	Old man (alone). Helped by a married son.
63	ground	2			Landlord's office.
	1st front	1	3	(B)	Man, wife, and 1 daughter. Man casual porter. Girl about 18. Very poor.
	back	1			No particulars.
	2nd front	1	2	(B)	Man and wife. Casual porter. Wife receives charity.
	back	1	1	(B)	Very old woman (alone). Does a little washing, and has 2s 6d out-relief.
61 and 62	Business premises.				
60	kitchen	1	1	(B)	Widow (alone). Does occasional jobs.
	gr. front	1	3	(B)	Widow and 2 daughters. Bad health. 1 girl grown up. 1 at school.
	back	1			New-comers.
	1st front	1	3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 daughter. Regular market porter. Daughter at business.
	back	1	8	(B)	Man, wife, and 6 children. Bargee. Irregular work. Wife chars occasionally. Quite poor. 2 more children away.
	2nd front	1	4	(D)	Widow and 3 sons. Kept by her sons, 2 of whom are at work.
	back	1	3	(D)	Widower and two boys. Both boys at school. Room very dirty.
59	gr. front	1	2	(E)	Widower and 1 son. Bootmaker, and son in post-office.
	gr. back	1			Workshop to 2nd floor back.



No.	Rms. Pers.					
	1st front	1	5		Man, wife, and 3 children.	New-comers.
	1st back	Business premises. Workshop to 2nd floor back.				
	2nd back	1	2	(E)	Man and grown-up daughter.	Works on own account, and collects rents. Comfortable.
58	gr. front	1	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Bootmaker. One girl, a daily servant.
	gr. back	1	1	(B)	Widow (old).	Washing. Assisted by Church.
	1st floor	1	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Takes rents of houses. 2 at work. Comfortable.
	2nd „	1	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Carpenter. Very bad health. Poor.
	2nd „	1	2	(B)	Man and wife.	Old and blind. Helped by City Company.
	3rd „	1	1	(C)	Widow.	Goes out to work.
	3rd back	1	1		Man.	Single labourer.
57 to 54	Business premises, &c.					
53	gr. floor	1	4	(D)	Widow, grown son, 2 children.	Widow in hospital with cancer. Son removes furniture.
	(1)					
	gr. floor	1	2	(B)	Man and wife.	Old, bedridden. Rent paid by a gentleman.
	(2)					Wife charing.
	1st „	2	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Tailor. Good work. 3 children left school. 1 pupil teacher at R. C. school. Decent.
	2nd „	1	3		Man, wife, and young child.	New-comers.
	2nd „	1	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Clerk. Comfortable.
	3rd „	1	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Tailor, elderly. Seem comfortable.
	3rd „	1	6	(C)	Man, wife, and several children.	Painter. 2 boys at work.
52	gr. „	1	1	(D)	Widow.	Milk shop. Curtains off part of shop and sleeps there.
	gr. „	1	1		Man.	Sweet shop. Italian. Sleeps elsewhere.
	1st „	1			.	No particulars.
	2nd „	empty.				
	2nd „	1	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Both work.
	2nd „	1	8	(B)	Man and wife, lot of children.	Boot repairer. Very poor.
	3rd „	1	7	(B)	Wife and 6 children.	Husband lunatic, at Colney Hatch. Wife chars and waits at a club. Boy and girl at work. 2 at school. 2 quite young.
	3rd „	1	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Boot repairer. Irregular work. Brother of man below.

*Manor Gardens.* This place has changed its character somewhat in the last twelve months. Many of the inhabitants went hop-picking, and while they were away the houses were done up and a better class of tenant sought. Some of the houses are newly built, three-storey, smart with red and yellow bricks, and up to now well cared for within as well as without. It remains to be seen how long the new start lasts. The houses which have been done up, show well also. The rest of the street has a very low look. It seems occupied by rough costermongers, and where the street ends at the railway line, the roadway, having houses at one side only, was, when seen, piled up with heaps of frozen garbage awaiting the thaw. Specimen follows:—

No.	Rms.	Pers.			
17	2	7	(C)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Costermonger. Wife hawks vegetables with a basket. She drinks.
	1	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Labourer. Irregular work. Poor.
	1	2	(B)	Man and wife.	Very poor.
19	2	4	(D)	Widow and 3 children.	Coke dealer.
	1	1	(D)	A young man.	Labourer.
	1	2	(D)	Two girls.	Working girls.
23	4	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Labourer in gasworks. Regular work. Wife a bad manager.
25	4	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Wood-chopper. Fairly tidy.
27	2	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	General dealer.
	2	2	(C)	Young couple. No children.	Costermonger. Very poor at times.
29	3	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Children go to school, but look neglected. Poor.
	1	2	(B)	Widow and 1 child.	Seems very poor. The child is working.
	1	3	(B)	Man and 2 children.	Living apart from wife. Lost his situation through her drunkenness. Now out of work. Very poor.
31	4	4	(D)	Man and woman and woman's mother, and another single woman.	Man and woman living together. About to be married. House of doubtful character.

*Thanksgiving Place.* Out of one of a group of small streets near a main thoroughfare, a narrow entry by the side of a house leads into a little open courtyard. This is Thanksgiving Place. Next to the entrance, in rear of the house in the street, are three comparatively new houses, built on what was the garden of this house. Passing them, to the end of the court, is a row of old houses—two rooms, one above the other—the roofs of which are in such a condition that some of the occupants only use the lower room. Opposite stand the sanitary arrangements of the place, consisting of two small washhouses, and between them five closets—one used as dust-bin—overflowing into the court, which is itself just wide enough to accommodate a barrow. The rents are 5s a week.

No.		Rms. Pers.				
1	house	2	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Hawker, about 20s a week. Two children at school and two are infants.
2	house	2	3	(B)	Man, wife, and baby.	Irregular labourer. New-comers, but are poor.
3	ground floor	1	3	(B)	Man, wife, and young child.	French polisher; but does not get much work. Wife looks after lodger.
	first floor	1	3	(B)	Man and 2 children.	Widower, French polisher. Casual work. Both children at school.
4	house	2	3	(C)	Man, wife, and girl.	Seaman on a coasting vessel, is very much away. Wife, who drinks, cleans at the Board school and earns about 6s. Poor lot.
5	house	1	2	(B)	An old couple.	Only occupy the lower room. Man does a little labouring work. Very poor.
6	house	1	2	(D)	An old couple.	Man works for the vestry. Earns 18s a week. Only use lower room.
7	house	2	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Hawks water - cress. Has a truck and regular stand. Wife helps. Two children at school. Very poor.

*Short's Place.* This is one of a nest of narrow streets at the back of a poor market-place. It can only be entered from one end, as a high wall divides it from a court at the other. The houses, with a few exceptions, have four rooms and a kitchen, two rooms being on the upper floor. All are dilapidated; windows broken, some being stopped with paper, others with pieces of wood, and others again with rags. Tattered curtains and dirty blinds are the rule, and the squalor of the place is more noticeable by contrast with two or three of the houses which are comparatively clean. Dirt prevails and warmth is sought at the expense of fresh air, as is shown by the red "draught-preventors" in many windows. A number of barrows and a donkey cart in the roadway indicate the coster's presence, and many little cages at some of the windows show the homes of the bird-catchers. The street-doors are open, and the roadway is a playground for ragged children, who have chalked the woodwork of the houses with grotesque figures as high as their hands can reach. There are 37 houses.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
1	house	3 & shop	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Hawks vegetables; wife attends to small shop. Three children at school. Do not do much trade, and are poor.
2	ground kitchen	2 & 2	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Labourer.
	first	2	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Labourer.
3	ground					Used as a mission room.
	first	2	3	(E)	Man, wife, and son.	Labourer. Wife looks after the mission room, and the lad, aged 16, is at work. Live rent free.
4	ground kitchen	2 & 2	6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Labourer. Wife makes match-boxes; eldest girl helps; others at school. Woman gossips and drinks. Very poor.
	first	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Boot-rivetter, irregular. Two children at school, and the other is under 3 years of age.
5	ground kitchen	2 & 2	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Casual labourer; wife makes a few match-boxes.
	first	2				Rooms are empty.



No.		Rms.	Pers.		
6	ground	1	1	(C)	Widower.
					Chairmaker. Is father of the man upstairs. Both men work together in this room, and the old man lives with his son's family.
	ground	1	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.
					Waste-paper dealer. Goes round with a barrow collecting and sells to the large dealers. All the children go to school except a girl, who is at home with a sore head. Very poor and dirty.
	first	2	4	(C)	Man, wife, and 2 children.
					Chairmaker, makes common cane chairs. Works with his father downstairs. Little work. 2 babies.
7	ground	2 & kitchen	6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 children.
					Labourer, very little work. Eldest boy, aged 14, at work; others at school. Decent sober people, but very poor.
	first	1	3	(B)	Man, wife, and child.
					Casual carman. The girl goes to school.
	first	1	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.
					Casual labourer, but steady. Eldest child is 9 years of age, youngest 3 months.
8	ground	2 & kitchen	8	(B)	Man, wife, and 6 children.
					Casual labourer. Wife makes match-boxes, and is helped by the eldest girl, aged 14. Four children go to school. Are very poor.
	first	2	2	(B)	Man and wife.
					Labourer. Only casual work.
9	ground	1	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 children.
					Casual labourer. The woman is of weak intellect. Boy, of 14, goes to work, and the other child to school.
	ground	1 & kitchen	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.
					Carman, in irregular work. Child, aged 7, goes to school. The other two are not old enough.
	first	1	2	(B)	Man and wife.
					Casual labourer.
	first	1	2	(B)	Widow and child.
					Woman makes match-boxes. Child, aged 10, goes to school.

*Assembly Street.* This is one of the approaches to a network of small streets and courts from the main road. It consists of small houses, most of which contain four rooms on two floors. Those on one side have the large many-paned windows, which show that the houses were built for silk weavers, but in most cases the large room has been partitioned so as to make two rooms upstairs. On the other side the houses are about the same size, but of a more modern type. A railway arch spans the further end of the street, and the adjoining arches are used as workshops, the occupiers of which block the adjacent roadway with their carts and materials. The houses in the street are slightly better than those in the courts, but are badly kept and falling into decay. The only modern building is the school. Rents vary from 8s to 11s a week.

No. 1-3	Rms. Pers.			Taken by railway.	
5	house	4 & shed	4 (E)	Man, wife, and 2 boys.	Small greengrocer's shop. One boy goes with the father hawking vegetables. Other lad goes to school. Man has a pony and cart. Home very dirty.
2	ground	1 & wash-house	2 (B)	Widow and baby.	Woman has a mangle. She has a little girl kept by a relative at Shadwell, and two other children in the parish school. Pays 4s 6d rent. Very poor.
	ground	2	7 (B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Boot repairer. Makes about £1 a week, working for neighbours. Four children at school, the other an infant.
	first	2	3 (C)	Man, wife, and girl.	Irregular labourer, earns about 14s a week. Wife does a little washing and gets 4s a week for the girl, who is a nurse child.
	first	2	6 (B)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Carman, earning £1 a week. All children go to school.

No.		Rms.	Pers.		
3	ground	2	8	(B)	Man, wife, and 6 children.
					Cabinet maker, makes about 24s a week. Five children go to school and one is an infant.
	first	2	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.
					Boot-laster, makes 20s to 22s per week. Four of the children go to school. Are relatives of the people downstairs.
Schl. house	house	6		(F)	Man, wife, and 4 children.
					Porter, earns 22s a week. Wife looks after the premises. Two children go to school. Live rent free; have gas and coals found.
4	ground & first	3	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.
					Chairmaker in regular work. Earns about 23s a week.
	first 1 (half the large room)	3		(B)	Man, wife, and infant.
					Casual dock labourer, earns about 16s a week. Young people.
5	house	3	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.
					Weaver, earns about 25s a week. Wife does trousers making but is now ill. Both children go to school.
6	ground	2			Used as a mission-room.
	first	2	2	(D)	Man and wife.
					Watchman on railway, 18s per week. Lives here rent free to look after the mission-room.
7	house	4	3	(E)	Man, wife, and child.
					Platelayer, has the house cheap from the railway company. Earns 24s to 26s a week.

*Assembly Court.*—This is a narrow passage leading from street to street, closely constricted at one end where the occupier has pushed his "garden" frontage forward so as to leave no more than a yard of footpath. The houses are small—two rooms, one above the other, with washhouse behind, and let at 5s a week. They face the wall of the workshops in rear of the houses in the

main road. In former days this place was occupied by the stables of the houses in the main road. The fortunes of street and court have fallen together.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
1	house	2	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Labourer in regular work, earning about 20s a week. Wife looks after their small general shop. Decent sort of people. Profits of shop about 10s a week.
2	house	2	9	(B)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Dealer in empty tea chests and cases; may make 22s a week by it. Wife does needlework. One girl is permitted to leave school, five at school, and a baby. Miserable case. Children without shoes.
3	house	2	3	(C)	Man, wife and child.	Coster; has a barrow and regular stand. Makes about 18s or £1. Child under school age.
4	house	2	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Labourer, earns about 18s. Wife very neglectful and home dirty. A boy earns 5s at a sawdust dépôt. Two children at school and an infant.
5	house	2	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Boot clicker; earns about 22s a week. The children are under school age. Seem decent people.
6	house		3	(B)	Man, wife, and one child.	Casual labourer; earns about 16s. Wife goes out washing and earns about 4s 6d a week. Child goes to school.
7	house	2	6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Cabman, supposed to earn about 18s a week. Wife is a miserable woman and seems "daft." Children are like her and only go to school when she takes them. Miserably poor.



No.		Rms. Pers.			
8	house	2	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.
					Collects old iron ; takes it home, and beats it into various shapes and then sells it about the street. Drinks heavily. Been in infirmary twice lately. Wife had parish relief while he was there and the eldest girl went to day service (2s a week). Three children at school and baby.

*Bear Alley.* This is a passage entered by an archway from a dingy main street, and appears to be only the way to a factory at the end. On both sides are modern-built warehouses, and still standing between the warehouses are two or three old three-floored houses—one of them built of wood. These houses are all that is left of the past, and their ruinous condition is conspicuous by contrast with the grim trimness of the warehouses, and set off by the rows of ragged garments hanging to dry—suspended by strings from window to window. Beyond the second house the court makes a turn, but leads only to some stables and more warehouses. Soon the old dwellings will drop out and business premises fill the gaps, and so the last stage will be reached in a process which may be seen in operation in many parts of this locality.

No.		Rms. Pers.			
3					Empty.
4	ground	1	3	(B)	Widow and 2 children.
					An invalid. 2 boys sell papers. One has been excused attendance at school, and other works between school hours.
	front first floor	1	4	(C)	Man, wife, and two sons.
					Painter. Lad, aged 16, is a van guard, 6s per week, and the other boy, aged 15, earns 6s. Rent 2s 6d.
	ground floor	2			Empty.
6		4	6	(C)	Man, wife, and four children.
					Large warehouse. Slipper maker, about 12s. Son, aged 22, works with father. Daughter, aged 14, helps mother ; 2 at school

*Stocking Yard.* This place, like Bear Alley which it adjoins and resembles in many respects, is entered through an archway from the main street. The few houses that remain are old and ruinous. Partial clearances have been made, and stables or business premises will in time absorb the whole. The roadway is dirty and worn into ruts by the vehicles passing to the stables at the lower end of the place. Rents, about 4s 6d per week for two rooms, one above the other.

No.	Rms.		Pers.			
1—3	Pulled down.					
4	house	2	5	(B)	Man, wife, son, daughter, and grandchild.	Dock labourer, very old and feeble; odd jobs. Son, aged 16, out of work. Daughter (22) does sack making, 4s. Child, aged 3 is hers.
5					Empty.	
6	ground	1	3	(B)	Man, wife, and son.	Casual labourer, only earned 6s a week lately. Son a labourer and earns 12s.
	first	1	2	(B)	Two brothers.	Dock labourers. Elderly men, average about 10s. One is a widower.
7	ground	1	3	(A)	Widow and 2 children.	Woman is a prostitute.
	first	1	4	(A)	Man and 3 children.	Dock labourer; well-known criminal. Would not send his children to school.
stables			4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Foreman of a yard. Wife is a drunkard. Children go to school.

This little place, the worst among the samples of dark blue, might have had a black line with advantage. No. 7 was differently occupied when the first survey was made.

## STREETS COLOURED LIGHT BLUE.

## GINGER STREET.

This is a very rough and untidy place. The main employment is fish curing. Dirty barrows stand about and the side walks are lumbered up with Billingsgate boxes, empty and full, but all reeking of fish. Men may be seen in the street and in the houses disembowelling haddock. Fishes' heads, and sometimes their entrails, bestrew the gutters. The houses are ill-cared for and shabby. Broken windows abound, and the people need to be better off than their surroundings would at first sight suggest, to justify the light blue colour under which this street appears on the map. The street, however, has a poorer end, where there is a block of buildings which is described in the next chapter. Those that follow are the upper ten of Ginger Street. The houses are all of two rooms—one up and the other downstairs.

*Nos. 1 to 15* have been pulled down and replaced by "Ginger Street Dwellings." *No. 16* is used by Rorke (*No. 18*) for fish curing.

*No. 17.* On the ground floor, Hartley, an old man, occupies one room. His wife, who died recently, used to keep a mangle, and since her death his grand-daughter has worked it for him. On the upper floor lives Grant, a labourer, himself an elderly man, who married Hartley's daughter. Grant has a big boy and girl at work besides the girl (of thirteen) who turns the mangle, and three younger children. There is not much mangling to be done, and the earnings of the boy and girl are what the families live on mainly. Grant cannot or does not find work.

*No. 18.* Rorke, smoker and hawker of haddocks, lives here. He smokes his fish at the back here as well as at *No. 16*. He

has a wife and one infant. The home, which might be comfortable, is miserable through drink.

No. 19 is occupied by an old man who only lately lost his wife. Since her death the visitor has not been admitted. He does not ask for any relief.

No. 20 is occupied by a brother of Rorke, of No. 18. These men belong to a clan, very strong in this neighbourhood, who help each other, working together. They are a drinking set. This man has a wife and three children, one at school. His father lives here, infirm and almost bed-ridden. These people appear very poor, especially as to clothes, probably through drink.

No. 21. No information.

No. 22 is occupied by Wright, a labourer, in fairly constant work, and, so, better off than the average here; but his wife is very delicate and does no work. They have five children, all at school except the baby, who is sickly. They pay for the doctor.

No. 23. Smart lives here, a costermonger and a leader among these people. He is known as the King of the Costers. He has a wife, but no children living, having lost some. They drink heavily, or might be well off. They are quite comfortable.

No. 24. Percy, hawker, lives here with wife and two young children. Seem comfortable, but the earnings are not so regular as with their neighbours at No. 26.

No. 25. This house is occupied by old Mr. Binney and his wife, the parents of the man at No. 26, and they are probably employed in a similar way.

No. 26. Binney, the son, lives here. He is a hawker and does fairly well. Has a wife and four young children, three at school, one an infant.

No. 27. Rand, a labourer, lives here. He has a wife and six children, all going to school. The eldest boy goes out with papers out of school hours. One girl helps at home. Two girls are out at service. The man is a casual worker and has done very little lately. Very poor.

No. 28. A Roman Catholic family, with whom the visitor is not acquainted.

No. 29. Boyle, a labourer, with wife and two little children.



The wife goes out hawking a little. They probably earn 20s between them, and are pretty comfortable. They have lost one child.

No. 30 is occupied by David, a coal porter at docks. During the summer he was at night work. For some weeks past has been out of work. He has a wife and six children. The oldest girl has been in service, but is out of place. All the others are of school age, or under. The wife would be glad to do "cleaning," if she could get it to do. They are very poor.

No. 31 is occupied by an old couple, without children, Roman Catholics.

No. 32 is occupied by a blind man, a basket maker. He had a blind wife, who used to sing in the streets, taking one of the children with her. She was, not long since, run over by a cab and killed. The man succeeded in placing all his children in schools, and married again—another blind woman. His earnings are pretty good and he seems comfortable.

No. 33. Towle, a licensed messenger, lives here. He does not earn much, one day 3*d*, another, only 2*d*, as he is not yet well known. He had good employment, but the firm failed. He had very good testimonials, and has been helped to start as messenger. There is a wife and two children. The wife has tried for work without success. One of the children, a girl, works in the City, earning 4*s* a week. These are very respectable people, but are behind-hand. Owe seven weeks' rent.

No. 34 is occupied by Thompson, a labourer of some kind. His wife does not work. They have one baby. They are newcomers. Do not need charity.

No. 35. Green, another costermonger or hawker, doing fairly. His wife goes out cleaning two or three days a week. They have one big girl at work, and another who should be in service, but is often at home. Two boys are at school. They are comfortable for costers. Drink a great deal.

No. 36. Mrs. Wood, a widow, who sells in the streets, making her profit mostly on Saturday night. She has a daughter living with her of about twenty, who goes to business daily. They are fairly comfortable when both are in work.

There are 7 more houses.

*Hart Street.* This street turns out of a busy, dirty, and ancient thoroughfare, through a low-browed entrance which occupies the space of a shop. This entrance is broad enough, though not high enough, to admit an ordinary vehicle, but serves very well for the passage of costermongers' barrows. The place reached through this entrance is fairly wide at first, but becomes narrower and ends as a *cul-de-sac*. The houses, with rooms back and front, are of two storeys and have 12 ft. frontage. They are occupied by a rough class of costers and others leading a hand-to-mouth but not at all a pinched existence. At times they may run short, but at others, and more generally, there will be money stirring and at any rate plenty to eat and drink. There are 39 houses in all.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
1	4 rooms & scullery	4	7	(C)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Haddock smoker. Earns a good deal, but drinks.
2	ground floor upper floor				No information.	
		4	6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 young children.	Man and wife, fur-pullers. Both drink. Miserable home.
3		5	8	(D)	Man, wife, and 6 children. (Most respectable house in the place.)	Smith's labourer, regular work. Two eldest girls are bookfolders, earning 15s between them. All total abstainers.
4		4	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Costers, both go hawking. Fairly comfortable.
5		2	7	(C)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Costermonger. One girl makes an uncertain wage. A most uncomfortable home because of drink.
		2	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 or 3 children.	Compositor nominally. Actually sandwich man. For three years brought not a penny home. Now earns about 9s, and wife goes for the money from the employer. Wife chars.
6		4	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Salesman in warehouse. Keeps the house. Decent and comfortable. Regular work.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
7	ground floor	3	7	(C)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Catches pigeons and sells them.
		1	1	(B)	Widow, alone.	Picks up rubbish in the streets. Dirty and miserable room.
8		2	2	(D)	Old man and wife.	Makes dolls' perambulators. Comfortable and careful.
		2			A family.	No particulars.
9					Occupied.	No particulars.
10		3	8	(D)	An orphan family.	There was a mother and large family of boys and girls. On her death, at first all were as rough as possible. Eldest girl, however, was steady and has taken care of the family. She and two boys work as paper sorters, and two elder boys work. Poor but clean.
	upper floor			(B)	Woman (alone).	Paper sorter. Poor and miserable.
11		4	4	(F)	Man, wife, and 2 little children.	Van proprietor. Well off. Keep the house.
12		2	4	(C)	Widow, and 3 children at home.	Sells in streets, helped by eldest boy.
		2			Family.	Fur-pullers. No particulars.
13	ground floor	3	3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Costermonger. Has horse and cart. Wife occasionally goes out selling.
	upstairs	2	2	(E)	Man and wife, no children.	Man a printer. Wife a brush-drawer. Very comfortable.
14	ground floor	3	3	(C)	Man, wife, and 1 children.	Costermonger. Violent fellow. Wife drinks excessively. A thorough bad lot. Always miserable.
	upstairs	1	2	(B)	Old man and wife.	Formerly a manservant. Gets a little work carrying sandwich boards of fur sales. Wife makes the living by fur-pulling. Suffers from bronchitis. Most respectable. Very poor.
				(B)	Family.	Hawker. Family unknown. Poor.

*Calliostro Street.* This street, from one end of which there is no exit, has a more poverty-stricken appearance than the particulars given below would seem to justify, but it is a long street, and our details include 10 houses only. The houses are of two storeys, and are set back a very little behind iron railings. They have about 16 ft. frontage. A good many of the houses are unoccupied.

No.	Rms. Pers.			
1	3	9 (D)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Vestry work at dust destroyer. Regular, 6d an hour.
	3	6 (B)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Casual labourer. Poor.
2	6	7 (D)	Man, wife, 4 children, and wife's mother.	Labourer. Steady man, fairly comfortable. No lodgers.
3	3	6 (C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Casual labourer. Poor.
	3	4 (C)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Casual labourer. Poor.
4	3	5 (C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Saddler. Can earn good money when he likes to work. Drinks.
	3	5 (C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Plasterer. Decent man. Short of work.
5			Empty.	
6	5		Man, wife, and 3 children.	Tailor. Can do well when he will work. Has just been charged with attempted murder.
	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Costermonger. Man and wife both drink. Live well.
7	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 grown children.	Compositor. Boy at work. Decent people. Keep the house.
8	9	(C)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Costermonger. Man drinks heavily.
	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Costermonger. Like the others.
9			Two families.	Both men are Irish labourers.
10	5	(C)	Man, wife, and some children.	Labourer. Wife has been a superior kind of woman but drinks. Children are over school age.



*Field Walk (part).* The description already given of Calliostro Street applies to this street also, which is in the same neighbourhood. The houses are of the same pattern and in similar condition. Sorry places both.

No. 6	Rms. 4	Pers. (E)	Man, wife, and 2 sons.	All three work on the railway. Comfortably off.
	1	1	Single man.	
22	2	(E)	Old couple.	Own the house and let upper part.
	2		No particulars.	
32	4	(E)	Man, wife, and some grown-up children.	Probably a labourer. Irish.
	2		No particulars.	
34	3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Man in work. Respectable young people.
			Another family.	No particulars.
38	5	(C)	Man, wife, and young children.	Poor and dirty.
	2	(E)	A young couple. No children.	Husband a manservant, coming home occasionally. Comfortable and steady.
92	2	(C)	Young couple.	Odd jobs. Used to keep a shop. Poor. Bad managers.
96	1	(C)	Widow.	Goes out to work and is landlady of the house.
	upstairs	2	(C) Widow and 1 son of 20.	Goes out to work. Son has fits.
98	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 or 5 children.	Glass blower. Goes to exhibitions. One son (17) helps. Might be well off, but both man and wife drink.
	upstairs	5	(C) Man, wife, and 3 children.	Labourer. Earns about 20s a week. Very poor.
100	7	(D)	Man, wife, and several children.	Have a delicate daughter.
106	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 or 2 children.	Elderly couple. Have a number of daughters married in neighbourhood who are constantly about with their children. Rather dirty people and given to gossip.
	upstairs		Another family.	Poor, had help a short time ago.

*Headley Street.* This street is cramped by the railway line upon which the back of the houses on one side give. There is not much in the way of backs on either side. It is coloured light blue on the map, but there appears to be a considerable mixture of dark blue and little above the line of poverty except two or three flourishing public-houses. The other streets immediately around, of which Flint Street (already described) is one, are poorer and lower in character than Headley Street, and by this contrast it gains. The houses are of 15 ft. frontage, some two and others three storeys. Many of the doors stand always open—the surface of the bricks round about the entrance of each house is black and polished by rubbing arms and shoulders, and the mortar has crumbled away from between the bricks or been picked out by idle fingers. The inhabitants are described to us as follows:—

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
1	house	4	5	(F)	Man, wife, and some children.	Cooper. Very comfortable. Keeps the house.
3		2	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Street seller from basket. Wife does not work. Very poor.
		1	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Sweep. Man and wife both drink very much.
		1	1	(C)	Young woman.	Used to make pill boxes.
5	ground floor front	1	2		Man and boy.	No particulars.
		1	2	(B)	Widow and son.	Goes out to work, but very seldom. The boy (at school) is a great trouble to his mother.
	upstairs	1	4	(B)	Man, wife, and some children. (An old man used to live here.)	Shoeblack.  (A street seller who died recently in a wretched state. There was money hoarded in his room which was stolen at his death.)
7	ground floor	1	3	(E)	Man, wife, and wife's brother.	Printer. The brother is a lad of 15, working at printing. Respectable people.
	upstairs	2	3	(B)	Man, wife, and one child.	Fish hawk. Wretchedly poor.

		Rms.	Pers.			
9	ground floor	2	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Man ill with rheumatic gout and almost imbecile. Wife works hard, charing; two girls and one boy going to work. Have lived here a great many years. Wretchedly poor.
	upstairs	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 2 or 3 children.	Just make a living. R.C. family.
11	house	4	8	(F)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Carter (on own account) does well. One or two children at work.
13		4			Several women.	House of doubtful character. Will not admit visitor. Women look anything but respectable.
15		4	8	(E)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Works at iron foundry. Fairly well off. R.C.
17		4			Several women.	Similar to No. 13.
19		4	4	(F)	Man, wife, and 2 daughters.	Provision shop. Grown-up daughter helps. Respectable well-to-do people.
Large houses begin here.						
21	top floor	1	6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Occupation unknown. Always begging. Very dirty.
	front room and kitchen	2	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Horsekeeper. Regular work. Wife drinks. Children at school. Dirty.
	second floor	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Shoemaker on own account. Children go to school. Just manage to live.
23		2	6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Labourer. Drinks. Wife hawks vegetables and works hard.
	second floor	1	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Bootmaker. Works for a man in the Borough. Just makes a living.
		1	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Farrier in regular work. Very respectable.
	top floor front	2	3	(D)	Man, wife, and grown-up child.	Seem respectable.
	top floor back	1	7	(C)	Man, 2 women, and 4 children.	Children were sent to school regularly. Recently occupied this room, but have now been turned out.

*Palmer's Place.* There is no outward sign of poverty in his street; it is one of a number of streets built on "an estate," and all under the same management. The pattern of the houses is uniform; four storeys with a bow window on each floor, enclosed, without area or basement, by low iron railings, placed not a yard from the advanced line of the windows. The landlord keeps the houses well painted, and the tenants from top to bottom seem to take a pride in their windows, so that the effect is rather well-to-do than poor. Other streets on the same estate, and kept in the same way, bear some of the marks of poverty—signs of careless ways—a rejected fish lying in the mud of the roadway, and a few sodden crusts of bread, and on the upper floors of Palmer Place there may be a good deal of poverty which does not at once meet the eye. The houses are of 15 ft. frontage.

No.		Rms.	Pers.		Empty.	
8	ground floor	2				
	first floor	2	1	(C)	Elderly widow.	Chars. Mother of young woman on second floor.
	second floor	2	3	(B)	Widow and 2 children at home.	Brush maker at home; has three other children in orphanages, &c. Poor.
	third floor	2	3	(D)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Printer. Not very poor.
10	half grd. floor & first floor	3	5	(E)	Widow and 4 children.	Mangling; a daughter helps; two sons at work. Nice respectable woman; clean.
	second floor	2	2	(E)	Man and wife; no children.	French polisher. Respectable; comfortable.
	third floor	2	2	(E)	Man and wife; no children.	Milkman. No further particulars.
12	ground floor	2	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Potman; has been better off. Poor. Have lost six children.
	first floor	2	3	(D)	Widow and 2 children.	Laundress. Girl helps; boy at school.
	second floor	2	2	(B)	Young married couple.	Marble mason; thrown out of work four months ago. Cannot get regular work. Understands nothing else; only gets casual work. Wife has begun mantle-making, but gets little by it, being inexperienced.
	third floor	2	6	(D)	Man, wife, and young children.	No particulars.



No.		Rms.	Pers.			
14	ground floor	2	9	(E)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Iron foundry. Pretty good wages. He is delicate. Wife does washing. Two boys and one girl at work.
	first floor	2	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Brushmaker, out of work. Young people. Very poor.
	second floor	2	2	(D)	Widow with 1 child.	Perhaps separated from husband.
	third floor	2	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Asphalter. Very poor.
16	ground floor		2	(D)	Widow and 1 or 2 children.	Mantlemaking. One child at King Edward's School (free education & maintenance). Poor.
	upstairs		6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Labourer. Two children at work ; two at school. Very poor.
	upstairs		5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children. One family unknown.	Butcher's assistant. Poor.
18	ground floor	2	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Shorthand writer. Nothing to do. Wife and child. Delicate ; poor.
	upstairs	1	1	(D)	Man alone.	Printer. Wife just sent to a lunatic asylum. No children.
	upstairs	1	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Barman. Out of work long time. Children at school. Very poor.
20	ground floor	2	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Hawker. Boy at work. Girl at school. Just get along.
	first & second floors	unknown.				
	third floor	2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Labourer. Children at school. Poor, but respectable.
22	ground floor	2	9	(D)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Clock maker. Four at school ; rest too young. Respectable, and struggle hard.
	upstairs	1	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Printer ; out of work. Very poor.
	upstairs	1	9	(B)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Printer ; out of work. Eldest at work ; rest at school except the baby. Man is lazy.
24	ground floor	2	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Portmanteau maker at Army and Navy Stores. Two children do not like work, so stay at home. Should be at work. Two at school ; one baby. Wife Irish, and dirty. Poor.
	upstairs	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Labourer. Sometimes at work, but oftener not.

*Havelock Street.* This street skirts the canal, and the wharves and business premises face the canal and occupy one side of the street, which might be painted pink. The other side is filled with poor houses which bring down the general tone of the street. This poorer side affords dwellings for wharf and other labourers, and other poor people, and contains an unusual number of shops of various kinds, from a good greengrocer and a tolerable haberdasher down to the display, by the lifting of the corner of a dirty window curtain, of a few slices of cat's-meat on a board. One establishment with its door between two windows devotes one side to the accessories of plumbing and paper-hanging while the other displays toffee and gingerbread and other home-made cakes screened from the room behind and set off as regards the eye of the man, or child, in the street by an ornamental structure of cardboard and coloured paper, no less home-made than the sweets, framing as its centre ornament a bit of looking-glass. It is said that the people in this street are constantly changing, and that the tendency is downwards. The houses vary greatly in construction and arrangement. There are 42 in all.

No.		Rms. Pers.			
41	first	1		(C) Woman and children.	Irish. Flower seller May have a husband.
	gr. back	1	2	(C) Very young couple.	Husband quite a boy. Wife sells flowers. A daughter of above. Other rooms to let.
43	ground	2	2	(C) Man and wife.	Bookbinder. Very slack. Wife makes paper boxes at 11d gross, finding glue and string.
	first	2	3	(B) Man, wife, and son.	Man past work. Son at work, and has back room. Very poor. Hardly any furniture.
	top	2	7	(B) Man, wife, and 5 small children.	Machine ruler, 18s to 20s. Work slack.
45	ground		6	(D) Man, wife, and some children.	Young people. Very rough.
	first		2	Man and wife.	No particulars.
	top	2	2	(C) Elderly widow and son.	Woman in bed with broken leg. Son, aged 20, is a loader at docks, rather irregular. Good to his mother.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
47	ground	1	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 young children.	Carman; always out of work; not much good. Wife does fur sewing. A great drunkard.
	back	1	2	(B)	Widow and a nurse-child.	
	first	2	8	(B)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Man at work, occupation not known. Is son of woman above. Wife does fur work, irregular. Very poor. People just moved out. To let.
49	top					
51	ground	1	4	(B)	Mother and married daughter with 2 children.	Daughter deserted by husband and very ill. Mother supports them by washing.
	first	1	3	(D)	Man, wife, and child.	Young people. Just get along.
	top	1				New-comers. No particulars.
53	house		2	(E)	Old man and wife.	Small eating-house.
55	ground	2	2	(E)	Widower and daughter aged 13.	Wood-chopper, has shop here. Girl goes to help some other relations in a small shop.
	first	2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Occupations not known, but are quite poor.
57	house		3	(D)	Widow and 2 children.	Husband not long dead; was a tailor, and she still keeps on the shop, expecting two of her sons who had gone away to work, to come back and carry on the trade. She does bead work. Respectable, poor.
59	house	3	8	(C)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Painter, very irregular. Woman delicate. One boy errands, 8s 6d; another at a grocer's, 6s; rest at school. Have had lodgers, but could get no rent out of them. Respectable, but quite poor. Rooms very small.
61	house	3	3	(E)	Man, wife, and girl.	Catsmeat seller. Girl a tie-maker. A son away at work.
63	ground	1	1	(C)	Elderly widow.	Sells herrings. Husband just dead.
		2	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Costers.
65						Public-house.

*Orchard Lane.* At first sight this shabby street, with its crooked entrance, would be accepted as very poor. It is only as each house is separately studied and the minor signs noted that its better character appears. The houses look old and might with advantage be made outwardly more attractive by the landlord.

No.	Rms.	Pers.		
1	4 rms.	2 5 (D)	Man, wife, and about 3 children.	Labourer.
		2 (D)	Another family.	Labourer.
3		4 5 (E)	Man, wife, and a few children, and grandmother.	Has a pension.
5		4 5 (E)	Widower and children.	Cabinet maker. All children grown up except one boy.
7		4 10 (D)	Man, wife, and about 8 children.	Regularly at work. All children except one at school.
9		4 6 (E)	Man, wife, and 3 or 4 children.	Earns more than 21s a week. Respectable but poor. Have had help.
11		4 4 (D)	Man, wife, and 2 little children.	Wood-chopper. Man rather superior.
13		4 2 (F)	Man and wife. Children grown up and gone.	Has a good trade and had a pension; not poor, but lost his pension through drink. Wife keeps laundry and employs 2 women.
15		3 7 (A)	Man, wife, and 5 little children.	Man is in prison. A clever man but cheated his employer and got five years. Wife works for her mother at laundry next door. She is now poor.
		1 1 (E)	Single man.	A son of the couple at No.13, works for a club.
17		4 3 (F)	Man, wife, and 1 girl.	Works at brewery. Good wages. Adopted child, a girl of 16.
19		4 2 (D)	Two widows.	One goes charing. The other sells herbs, &c., in the streets.
21		4 4 (D)	Man, wife, son, and grand-daughter.	Old man earns 5s a week. Son earns 18s. Very poor.
23		4 8 (E)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Bricklayer, 9d an hour; out of work in winter.



No. 25	Rms. 4	Pers. 4	(F) Man, wife, and 2 little children.	Good place at some works. Wife (second) is drunken. Children by first wife have grown up and gone. The man is well off.
27	4	5	(E) Man, wife, and 3 children.	One child always ill. Doubtful people.
29	4	2	Man and wife.	No particulars.
31	4	5	(D) Man, wife, and family.	Young people. Poor.
33	4	3	(D) Young married couple and baby.	Respectable, but poor. Often short of money.
35	4	5	(D) Man, wife, and 3 children.	Carman. 20s a week.
37	4	8	(B) Man, wife, and 6 young children.	Carman. 22s. Very poor. Wife's two brothers live at Nos. 2 and 8.
39	2	2	(D) Man and wife, elderly.	Man has small pension, but finds difficulty in getting it.
	2	3	(C) Man, wife, and 1 child.	Printer. Irregular work. Idle. Has never supported his family. Poor.
41	4	6	(C) Man, wife, and 4 children.	Occupation unknown. Is a gambler and beats his wife who attends mothers' meetings. A thorough beggar.
43	4	4	(D) Man, wife, and 2 children.	Occupation unknown. Respectable and poor people.
45			Family.	No particulars.
47	2	2	(D) Man and wife.	Auxiliary postman. Drink a little but are respectable people. Here a long time. Have a grown son who is a soldier.
	2	5	(B) Old woman and her daughter, a widow with 3 children.	Grandmother is over 80. Her daughter goes out charing. They are very poor.
49	2	1	(D) Widow. No children.	Has a little income from some houses. Not much.
	2	3	(B) Widow and 2 sons.	An ironer. One son (22) always ill. Younger son works at gasworks. Just manage.

*Clarence Square.* The subjoined is only about half of the square, the remaining part being rather poorer and more crowded. It turns out of a leading thoroughfare which runs through a deteriorating neighbourhood, and is just opposite a well-known public-house from which 'busses and trams start. The houses are old, with tiny patches of ground, enclosed by rusty iron railings, in front, and have probably seen better days. They have six rooms, with rather steep, dark and narrow staircaes, and are rented at 15s a week. The street is a *cul-de-sac*, the houses being continuous on both sides and at the end, which perhaps accounts for its being called a "square," as in no other respect can it be said to resemble one. Houses—six rooms and an attic. Rent 15s.

No.		Rms. Pers.			
1	ground floor	2	3	(D)	Man, wife, and 1 child.
					Bricklayer's labourer. Very rough, but pretty comfortable. Lately buried two children.
	first front				New-comers.
	first back	1	4	(C)	Widower and 3 children.
					Potman. Brutal fellow. Used his wife (lately dead) and children very badly. Children were in a dreadful state. Has lost his situation and is about to move.
	second floor	2	3	(C)	Widower and 2 children.
					Bricklayer's labourer. Drinks and ill-used his wife (just dead). Very poor now, but would not give his wife enough to live on when earning good money.
2	ground floor	2	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.
					At stores. Regular and comfortable berth. One girl old enough to work not doing anything. Declines service.
	first floor	2	2	(E)	Old couple.
					Retired on small income. Parents of the above.
	second floor	2	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.
					Carman. One little boy earns 1s a week in the evenings. Very decent and just comfortable.
	house	4	6	(F)	Man, wife, and 4 children.
					Ladies' shoemaker. Nice house. Very comfortable.

No.		Rms. Pers.				
	first floor	1	2	(E)	Elderly couple.	Wheelwright. Regular work, but drinks a bit. Grown - up family. Comfortable.
	second floor	1	3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 girl.	Painter. Rather irregular work. Wife works at laundry. Do fairly.
4	house	4	8	(E)	Man, wife, and large family.	Salvation Army. Get on all right.
		2	2	(E)	Married son living above.	Salvation Army. Get on all right.
5	house	6	5	(F)	Elderly couple and family.	Own this house and No. 6. Comfortably off. Grown-up children.
6	ground back and first front	2	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Bricklayer, but never works. Loafs about outside the pub. Said to do a little book-making. Wife takes in work and has some children to mind.
	ground front	1	2	(F)	Widower and 1 daughter.	Piano works. Daughter has situation.
	first back	1	2	(E)	Two young men.	
	second front	1	3	(D)	Widow and 2 children.	Washing and ironing. 14s or 15s a week.
	second back	1	1	(D)	Widow.	Supported by her grown-up sons.
7	ground and first floor	2	5	(E)	Man wife, and 3 young children.	On the railway. Plate-layer probably, regular job. Single men lodgers. Manage.
	first front	1			Empty.	
	second floor	1	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Plasterer, old; young wife (his niece). Irregular work. Very poor.
8	ground floor and second	5	8	(D)	Widow and mother, 1 little boy, 5 lodgers.	Lodges five young men. New-comers.
	first floor	1	4	(B)	Man wife, and 2 children.	Gardener, out of work several weeks. Young people. Very poor.
9	ground floor	2	7	(D)	Man wife, and 5 children.	Stoker at factory. Regular job. Rents house. Very respectable and striving.
	first floor front	1	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Platelayer. Old couple. Regular work.
	first back	1	1	(C)	Widow.	Does washing. Elderly.
	second floor	2	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Railway servant. Children all at school. Seem comfortable. Very decent house.

*Little Merton Street.* This is a very short street connecting Merton Street with Balliol Square, and when the end houses which severally belong rather to the square or to the main street are dropped out of consideration little remains. That little looks very decent and respectable outwardly. In detail the residents are described as follows, rather a rough lot :—

No.	Rms.	Pers.		
1	10 rooms	2 4	(B) Man, wife, and 2 children.	A cripple (was waterside labourer). Wife an ironer.
		2 7	(B) Man, wife, and 5 children.	Labourer. Wife washes. One child has spinal disease. Very poor.
		2 4	(B) Man, wife, and 2 children.	Cabwasher. Wife consumptive. Very poor.
		2 4	(D) Man, wife, and children.	Labourer. Wife chars. Used to drink. Now abstainers.
		2 5	(A) Man, wife, and 3 children.	Bottle gatherers. Man now in prison. Wife drinks. One girl trying for employment at Pantomime. Low people.
2		2	(E) Man and wife, no children.	Sweep.
		4	(D) Man, wife, and 2 children.	Respectable. Have a disreputable son not at home.
		7	(D) Man, wife, and 5 children.	Porter. Wife canes chairs. Respectable.
3		6	(E) Man, wife, and 4 children.	Respectable couple.
		4	(A) Man, wife, and 2 daughters.	Cabwasher. A drunkard. Beats his wife and was in prison for it. Wife out late. Daughter wild.
		4	(D) Widower and 3 children.	Labourer. Fairly respectable. Wife, lately dead, was often in prison through drink.
4		5	(F) Widow and family.	Coachman's widow. Occupy the house.
7		6	(E) Man, wife, and 4 children.	Carman. Wife washes.
		2	(E) Man and wife, no children.	Cabman.
			Another family.	Refuse to be visited.
8		6	(E) Man, wife, and 4 children.	Kitchen porter. Wife washes. Respectable.
		5	(E) Man, wife, and 3 children.	Labourer. Respectable.



*Violet Place.* This place consists of thirteen houses set round about a well-flagged area of fair width. It leads out of Bank street (purple), under an archway, and is no doubt part of the same property, being in similar good order. The general aspect of this little place is comfortable.

No.		Rms.		Pers.			
1—3						Missing.	
4	2 rooms and scullery	2	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 young children.	4	Carman. About 21s regular. Does not give the money to his wife. Appearance of home very poor.
5	2 rooms and scullery	2	6	(D)	Man, woman, and 4 children.	4	Labourer. Separated from wife. The children are by another woman now dead. His present "wife" is a new-comer.
6	2 rooms and scullery	2	2	(E)	Man and wife.		Navvy, but prefers helping wife at washing. Comfortable.
7	2 rooms and scullery	2	8	(C)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	6	Rough carpenter. Making go-carts. Steady and respectable. Eldest boy (17) was at Waterlow's. Now out of work. Another is a van boy. Seem very poor. Much illness. Drains bad. Children poorly clad.
8	3 rooms	2	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 children.		Carman. Been laid up with broken leg. Wife makes silk tassels, and earns 5s to 8s a week. Girl earns 2s 6d. Don't live happily together. Scrape along. Very poor.
		1	1	(E)	Lodger.		
9	2 rooms and scullery	2	5	(B)	Widow and 4 children.	4	Mangling and office-cleaning. One son a sailor. Two girls in places. Four children at home. Has been helped. Drinks at times. Very poor.
10		2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children (lost 2 children).		Fitter. Fairly regular. Short time at present. One girl at work as learner. Very respectable, and seem comfortable.

*Tangley Street.* This street is situated in the same remote district as Gordon Street, described later on (purple), and though similar in style is a distinct grade below, being a poor light blue, mixed, to all appearance, with great poverty. The houses are of the smallest type for three storeys; the basement is at the half height, with a very narrow area, surmounted by steep steps to the level of the parlour floor. The houses are in wretched order, some are empty, and in others one or more of the floors will be out of repair and unoccupied. But it is hard at times to say whether the rooms are occupied or not, so little show is there of housewife's care or comfort visible through the blank and murky windows. It is a short street, and where occupied at all is packed with people. There is no shop in it, nor show of any industry, except one notice about mangling. The houses have 16 feet frontage. In all there are nearly 40 houses.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
1	basement	1	7	(B)	Man, wife, and about 5 children.	Labourer, often out of work. Always miserably poor.
	basement	1	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children at home.	Navy. Wife is ill. A great beggar. Dirty, miserable people. No bedding, only straw. One girl in service, another married.
	first floor	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 2 or 3 children.	Wife goes out washing. Children uncared for.
	second floor	2			No information.	
3	basement	2	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 sons.	Sons working. Youngest 14.
	first floor	2	8	(B)	Man, wife, and 6 little children.	Compositor, often out of work. More or less starving.
	second floor	2	2	(C)	Man and wife, no children.	Road labourer, often out of work. Wife daughter of the compositor.
5	house	6	7	(F)	Man, wife, and 5 sons.	At vinegar works. 4 sons grown up at work.
7	house	6	9	(E)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Handyman, building trade. Works for owner of property. Some children at work, others at school. Comfortable.
9	house	5	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 daughters.	Man is in oil trade. Girls work.

No.	Rms.	Pers.			
	2	2	(B)	Man and wife, no children.	Cabdriver, often out of work. Behaves badly to his wife, and she drinks. Two children dead. Very poor.
11	2	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Wife goes out washing. 1 girl in service. Children dirty and always about. Do not know man's occupation.
	2	2	(C)	Man and wife, no children.	Labourer. Wife drinks. Very rough. Irish Roman Catholics.
	2	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 or 5 children.	Poor and dirty. Children all of school age.
13	4	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Carter in regular work. Wife keeps laundry. A tidy woman. 3 children at school.
	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 young children.	Carter. Brother of the other. Wife works with sister-in-law.
15				Laundry. New people.	Lately established. Employs some women.
17	5	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 grown up sons.	Carman. Parents of the men at No. 13. The old man has been out of work for some time. Comfortable.
	1	2	(B)	Deserted woman, 1 child.	Works at laundry. Very poor.
19		6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Portmanteau maker. Working at home.
		1	(B)	Single man.	Out of work, ill, and consumptive. (Has just left.)
21	4	4	(F)	Man, wife, and 2 daughters.	Laundry, employ women. Grown up daughter. One of 10.
23	2	5	(D)	Jew and 4 children.	Does anything. Wife acts at a penny gaff in New York. Youngest child 9 years. Very dirty.
	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and lodgers.	Carver at club. Seem respectable.
25	2	9	(C)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Man working for a builder. Poor.
	2	10	(D)	Man, wife, and 8 children.	Poor.
27	2	6	(A)	Man, wife and 4 children.	Builder's man, never works. Both drink. Children don't go to school. Eldest daughter bad character.

*Ding Dong Lane.* This crooked street marks an old boundary. It is poor throughout its whole length, and set about with deeper poverty in the adjacent courts. Despite the claims of antiquity and a very favourable position, it is not a "market street." Its dismal quietude is undisturbed by shouts and flaring lights; no crowds hustle on its side walks. It is instead the special home of very poor-looking shops, which, uninviting as they appear, must be supposed to attract a certain shy custom.

The inhabitants of one small portion of this street are described below. At this part there are very few shops, and the houses are small four-roomed cottages, with about 12 feet frontage. They are decently kept, and this is outwardly the pleasantest part of the street.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
7	small shop	shop & 3	3	(D)	Man, wife, and mother of one of them.	Small general shop—provisions, sweets, &c. Only been 10 months. Not very good trade.
9	ground	kit-chen & 1	4	(B)	Widow and 3 children.	Does charing, and does not average 10s a week. Children at school. Has relief from the Church. Very poor.
	upper	2	3	(D)	Widower and 2 lads.	Sweep on own account. The lads, 21 and 15, are relations, who live and work with him. A woman used to come in to clean. Place very dirty. Man drinks heavily, or they could not be poor.
11	ground	2	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Labourer. Irregular work. Very poor last winter. Had relief. Wife deaf.
	upper	2	2	(C)	Man and wife (elderly). Parents of the deaf woman downstairs.	Out of work for nearly two years. Wife does a little. Old age is the trouble. Expects daily to go into the work-house. Get charitable aid from Mission Hall and Church. Go from place to place for this, and live mainly so.



No.		Rms.	Pers.		
13	house	4	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.
					Regular. Labourer, earning over 20s a week. Eldest girl about 13. Used to have a blind man lodger, but have no lodger now. They are better off than their neighbours.
6	basement				Used as washhouses, &c.
	ground	2	2	(E)	Man and wife.
					The front room was used by them as a shop, but is now closed
	ground	2			Empty.
	first	1			A noisy family. No particulars.
	first	1	3	(B)	Widow, unmarried sister, and little boy.
	first	1	4	(C)	Young man, wife, and 2 children.
	second	1	1	(C)	Widow.
					Washing. Often ask for relief.
					Labourer. In irregular work. Get relief at times. Respectable.
					Sells newspapers. Used to drink terribly, and often been in gaol—99 times she says. Has two respectable married daughters, who are ashamed of her.
					Works hard.
		1	2	(B)	Old man and wife.
					Man does a little work when he can, but they live principally on charity.
		2			New-comers. No particulars.
8	basement	1			Old man, bootmender, lived here alone. Is now in the infirmary.
	ground	1	2	(C)	Man and wife (elderly).
					Man rheumatic and cannot work. Have a mangle, on which they depend.
	first	1	1	(D)	A widow, aged 50.
					Bookfolder. Respectable.
10	basement	2			Used for washing, &c.
	ground	1	2	(C)	Man and wife (very old).
					Man does odd jobs. Woman needlework.
					Rent house. Helped in winter. Respectable. Poor.
	ground	2	2	(D)	Widow and son.
	and first				Son practically keeps his mother.
	first	1	1	(B)	Widow, aged about 50.
					Bookfolder. Deaf, and very poor. Had relief.

*Durham and Lincoln Gardens.* Turning up a narrow court-way, which widens out into a street further along, one comes to the four old houses given below as Durham Gardens. The wall of the first house adjoins the hall of a large club, and it is said to be only owing to a slight misunderstanding with the landlord that they were not some time since demolished, and the hall extended over the ground which they occupy. The rest of the houses in the street are of a more modern and better type, and inhabited by a decent working class. Lincoln Gardens is a wide paved court adjoining Durham Gardens, with houses on one side only, and leading into a main thoroughfare. The houses are neat and clean, with railings and tiny plots of ground in front.

## DURHAM GARDENS

No.	Rms.	Pers.		
1	4	7	(D)	Man, wife and 5 children.
	1	1	(B)	Aged widow. (Lodger.)
2	2	7	(B)	Man, wife, and about 5 children.
	2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.
	1	1	(B)	Single woman.
3	3	13	(B)	Man, wife, and 11 children.
	2	4	(D)	Widower, 2 sons and 1 daughter.

Chance work. Averages 10s per week. Two boys parcel delivery, 7s and 6s per week. No visible means of livelihood. Out of work. Three children at school. Others earning. Bank clerk. Regular situation. Apparently destitute. Average earnings 2s per week. Rent 1s 6d. Helped by the Church. Furrier. Averages 20s per week. Only 1 child at work. All at work.

## LINCOLN GARDENS.

1	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	House decorator. Averages 25s per week.
	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	House decorator. 25s. (brother of the above).
2	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Carman. 20s per week.
	3	(E)	Widower and 2 children.	House decorator. Averages 25s per week. (Wife died lately.)
3	5	(E)	Widow and 4 grown-up children.	The children support their mother.
4	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Carman. About 20s per week. 1 girl (19) at work.
	1	(D)	Young woman.	Lodger.

*Braden Place.* Approached from the main street through an archway; there are two old houses on the left. Just beyond these the place widens, and a few steps lead up to some smaller houses, occupying two sides of the inner paved courtyard, which is separated from the lower portion of the place by an iron railing and gate at the top of the steps. A clean, quiet little place, the only conspicuous object being one of the houses at the end of the place, which is more gaily painted than its fellows, and has a large board over the door designed to attract the attention of seamen. The smaller houses have four rooms and a kitchen, and the larger ones six or seven rooms. Modern improvements will soon remove the quaint interest of the place, workmen being now engaged in building some large houses on the site of Nos. 1 and 2. Rents from 10s a week.

No.			Rms.	Pers.			
1 & 2							
3	ground	2	3	(C)	Widow, son and daughter.		Pulled down. Widow does washing, about 9s. Son (19) a lighterman, earns 12s. Girl (13) goes out to service daily. Lets to single young men.
	first	1	1	(C)	Single man.		Works at the docks, earns about 12s.
	first	1	1	(C)	Single man.		Works at docks.
	second	1	1	(D)	Single man.		Railway porter, regular, 16s.
	second	1	1	(F)	Single man.		Lighterman, about £2.
4	round	2	5	(F)	Man, wife, and 3 young children.		Lighterman, about £2.
	first	2	5	(F)	Widow and 4 sons.		Comfortable.
	and kitchen						Widow kept by sons. The eldest is a labourer 20s; second, a carter, 18s; third in an oil-shop, 18s; youngest (16) is a printer's boy, 8s per week. All fairly regular.
5	ground	2	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.		Painter, averages 12s
	and kitchen						Children under 8 years of age. Extremely poor.
	first	1	3	(C)	Widow, son, and daughter.		Daughter (20) works in a seed warehouse, 6s per week. Son, a sailor, seldom here. Rent 2s 9d.
	first	1	1	(B)	Widower.		Man, 80 years old. Cannot work. Assisted by neighbours and a married daughter.

*Cardinal Street.* This street is situated in the midst of a manufacturing district, and leads from the main street to narrow thoroughfares where factories and workshops abound. Low, narrow-fronted houses, built close to the pavement, and containing four small rooms, two on each floor. Some of the doors are kept open; the windows have a poor look, while the air is always murky, and gives the street a dull appearance, even in the brightest weather. Rents are 10s and 10s 6d per week. 40 houses in all.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
1	house	4	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Cabinetmaker, regular. Two children go to school.
3	ground	2	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Boot-finisher. Work is slack. About 17s a week. Eldest child is 9 years, youngest eleven months. Very poor.
	first	2				Empty now.
5	house	4	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Chairmaker, is doing badly. Girl does fur sewing. Two boys go to work. Seem poor.
						Being rebuilt.
7	house					Bootmaker. Poor.
9	house	4	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Have left. House now empty.
11	house	4	6	(F)	Man, wife, and 4 boys.	Cabinetmaker. At least £2. Sons go to work.
13	ground	2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Bootmaker. Two children go to school. Poor.
	first	2	4	(C)	Man, wife, and 2 young children.	Boot-finisher. Struggling.
15	house	4	9	(C)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Chairmaker. Often out of work. Two children go to work, and five to school. Another girl in a Deaf and Dumb Asylum.
17	house	4	10	(D)	Man, wife, and 8 children.	Silver-plate worker. Trade is bad, owing to alteration in the duties. One girl is a boot machinist. Two boys go to work. Four children at school.



No.	house	Rms. Pers.				
19		4	7	(C)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Cabinetmaker. Could have constant work, but is poor. Two girls and a boy at work. Generally in arrears with rent.
21		3	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 grown-up children.	Gas labourer. One daughter; the others are young men. All are at work. Comfortable.
23	first ground	1 2	1 5		Single man lodger.	
				(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Painter, out of work. Child goes to school; other two are too young. Very poor.
	first	2	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Carman, regular; about 21s. One child goes to school.
25		3	3	(B)	Widower, 2 children, and grandmother.	Builder's labourer, very badly off; out of work. Wife died recently; had a "friendly lead" to bury her. Grandmother looks after home. Very poor.
		1	1	(D)	Single woman.	Goes out to work.
27	ground	2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Metal sorter, about £1. Two children at school. Poor; just manage.
	first	2	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Brushmaker. Boy works with father. Three children go to school. Poor.
29	ground	2	4	(C)	Man, wife, and 2 grown-up sons.	Fish hawk. Two girls have gone to service. Poor.
	first	2	2	(D)	Man and wife.	General labourer; poor. Elderly people.
31	ground	2	1	(D)	Single young woman.	Front room used as chandler's shop. Kept by this woman, who lives in the back room. Poor.
	first	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Wood sawyer; irregular. Two children go to school. Seem poor.
33	ground	2	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Boot finisher; cheap work. Children go to school. Poor.
	first	2	3	(D)	Man, wife, and baby.	Bootmaker. Poor.
35	house	4	2	(E)	Old couple.	Lived here years. Comfortable. Have regular income.

*Bradford Street.* A wide street of modern two-storeyed houses, each like its neighbour, leading from a busy thoroughfare into the midst of a number of dingy and uninviting streets. The houses contain four rooms and a small kitchen in the rear. In most cases there is a narrow strip of ground in front of the houses, enclosed by railing, but trodden down by the many children who play in the street. In some of the houses windows are well kept, with curtains and ornaments carefully placed within the view of passers, and a general air of comfort, but the children playing about, though fairly nourished, have a ragged appearance, pointing to a lack of any superfluous means. Paper, straw, and refuse litter the gutters and sidewalk. There are 30 houses in all.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
2	ground	3	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Colourmaker ; regular. Two children at school.
	first	2	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Labourer. Not very poor.
4	ground	3	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Porter ; regular. Children at school. Seem comfortable.
	first	2	2	(E)	Middle-aged couple.	Appear comfortable.
6	house	5	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Keep house ; comfortable.
8	ground	3	5	(F)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Tailor's cutter. Two children at school. Comfortable.
	first	2	2		Man and wife.	New-comers.
10	ground	3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Boot finisher. Seems regular. Fairly comfortable. Two children at school.
	first	2	3	(D)	Widow and 2 children.	Machinist. Children at school.
12	ground	3	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Japanner ; regular. Children between 12 and 2 years old. Home comfortable.
	first	2	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Labourer, rather poor.
14	ground	3	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Coachman ; regular. Children under 12 years. Seems comfortable.
	first	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Boot clicker. Children are 4 and 2 years respectively. Comfortable.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
16	ground	3	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Catsmeat dealer. Goes round with a barrow. Children at school.
	first	2	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Young married couple. Comfortable.
18	ground	3	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Painter; very slack. Children under 10 years old.
	first	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 young children.	Sawyer. Is in work.
20	ground	3	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 young children.	Stickmaker. Boy (15) works with father. Other children at school.
	first	2	3	(C)	Widow and 2 children.	Woman goes out to work and children go to school.
22	ground	3	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 young children.	Boot-rivetter; regular.
	first	2	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Labourer. Are rather poor.
24	house	3	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Carman. Girl (15) and boy (13) at work. Other children at school.
26	ground	3	2	(C)	Widow and daughter.	Woman does washing and charing, and the girl (13) helps her.
	first	2	3	(C)	Man, wife, and boy.	Fish porter. Boy (13) goes to work.
28	house					Used as a workshop.
30	house & shop	3	2	(D)	Old couple.	Little chandler's shop. Keep the house. Seem rather poor.
<i>Other side.</i>						
1	ground	3	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Small cabinet maker, on own account. Children are under 7 years.
	first	1	3	(D)	Man, wife, and infant.	Wood-chopper. Poor.
		1	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 boys.	Man is in the infirmary. Has been there some time. Wife supports the family by washing. Boys at school.
3	house	5	6	(F)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Stretcher maker. Eldest boy (14) works with father. Comfortable.
5	ground	3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Gasfitter; regular. Two children at school.
	first	2	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Small cabinet maker. Own account. Wife has bad health.
7	house	5	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Bricklayer. Boy (14) at work. Other children at school.

*Ancoats Street.* This is a commonplace street of small houses of a type found often in many parts of London. The houses are all two-storeyed; most have four rooms, but in some cases one large room takes the place of the two on the first floor. With the exception of a few near the main road, the houses are built on the same plan, and only differ in condition; in one part of the street the fronts of the houses being well kept and woodwork painted, while in the other appearances are neglected. Through some of the windows the tailoress's machine may be seen, and in some of the front rooms the small cabinet maker works. The blinds and short curtains give an appearance of poverty to the street, the effect being heightened by contrast with a few well-kept windows. Rents are 8s to 9s per week. 38 houses in all.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
2	house	4	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Sells catsmeat. Has a small shop window. Makes about 26s. Comfortable.
3	first	3	2	(D)	Old couple.	Labourer; regular.
		1	2	(B)	Man and wife.	Casual labourer, about 16s. Rent 3s.
4	ground		5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Gunmaker; regular, but not making full time. Wife drinks; is led home sometimes. Children at school.
	first	1	2	(B)	Man and wife.	Labourer, about 16s.
5		3	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Stone polisher, averages about 22s. Work is irregular.
	first	1	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Hawker. Poor.
6		3	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Wireworker, about 22s. Two children at school.
	first	2	3	(E)	Man, wife, and child.	Chairmaker, about 25s. Wife does not work.
7		3	5	(F)	Man, wife, and 3 boys.	Painter; good work in the spring; average about 22s. Boys at work, earn 10s, 8s, and 5s respectively.
		1	2	(B)	Man and wife.	Irregular labourer. Not more than 13s or 14s. Seems very poor.
8	house	3	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Hawker; has a barrow. About 18s.



No.		Rms.	Pers.			
9	house	3	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Type-cutter (wood); regular. About 24s. Suffers through slack time. A boy just going to work. Girl at school.
10	house	3	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Mattress-maker. About 22s. Three children at school; other an infant.
11	house	3	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Journeyman baker; regular. Wages 26s. Three children at school; other an infant.
12	house	3	5	(B)	Widower, and 4 children.	Cabinet maker. Often has rheumatism. In the infirmary twice in last eight months. Earns about 16s. One daughter minds the house, and another usually earns 7s as a trimming-maker, but has had no work for fourteen days. Two children at school. Mother has not been dead long.
13	house	3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Tinplate worker, 25s or 26s. Two children at school. Fairly comfortable; better than most in the street.
14	ground	2	2	(D)	Two sisters.	Keep a little general shop. Just manage.
	first	2	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Engineer's labourer; regular. Gives his wife 20s. Wife does "baby shoe" work, employing a girl (4s a week) to help. Clears about 12s. Fairly well off.
15	corner house and shop	3	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 young children.	Fried-fish shop. Both work. Clear about 28s. Seem comfortable.
16	house	4	7	(F)	Man, wife, and five children.	Small cabinet maker, employing two men. Cheap "suites." Shop at back. Clears about 38s.
17	ground	2	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Casual dock labourer. Poor.
		2	2	C)	Man and wife.	Casual dock labourer.

*Bradley Street and Grimthorne Street.* The two streets lie parallel, and are connected at one end by Drummond Place. The whole block consists of decent little houses, inhabited, it would seem, by quiet people. The children who are skipping or spinning tops on the pavement are nice-looking, clean, and well-behaved. It is one o'clock, and dinner is probably just over. Many of the house doors are open, and respectable women stand looking on. The parlour windows show care and pride in curtains, plants, and ornaments. The cracked panes are all neatly mended. There is a sweets shop in Grimthorne Street and some sign of business in Bradley Street, fire-wood cutting and lath rending. Where lodgings are offered it is in the form of an "unfurnished" room—sure sign of the light blue streets.

## BRADLEY STREET.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
1		4	5	(C)	Man, wife, 2 children, and wife's mother.	Painter. Irregular work. Poor.
2		4	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Man paralyzed. Wife does little laundry work. Children at work.
3		4	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 young children.	Butcher.
4		4				Empty.
5		3	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 sons.	Father and sons work at colour factory.
	upstairs	1	1	(E)	Single man.	Mathematical instrument maker.
6		4	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Works at General Post Office.
7		4	6	(F)	Man, wife, 3 children, and servant.	Timber dealer. Use yard for old timber.
8		3	8	(D)	Man, wife, and 6 young children.	Carman.
	upstairs	1	1	(D)	Single woman.	Laundry work.
9		4	5	(B)	Widow and 3 children, and grandmother.	Laundry work and mangle. Hard struggle.
10		4	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Brass finisher. Wife does laundry work.
11		2	3	(D)	Man, wife, and 1 girl.	Wood chopper.
		2	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Labourer.
12						Missing.
13		4	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 boys at home.	Colour worker. Wife does washing. Three girls away in service.
14		4	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Tailor's cutter.

GRIMTHORNE STREET.

No. 1/3		Rms. Pers.				
					Four families.	Very poor.
5	shop	2	1	(D)	Widow.	Keeps sweetstuff shop.
	upstairs	2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Pork butcher.
7		2	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Works in tea warehouse in City.
	upstairs	2	2	(D)	Old woman and grandson.	Boy (15) earns 15s a week with a street contractor.
9		2	2	(D)	Man and old mother.	Works for parish. Married daughter upstairs.
	upstairs	2	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Cabinet maker.
11					Two families.	No children.
13		4	3	(D)	Old couple and son.	Do a little shoemaking. Very poor.
15		4	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Carman.
17		4	9	(D)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Sausage maker. Clean house.
19		4	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Shoemaker. Very respectable.
21					Three families.	Costermongers. Rough characters.
2		4	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 or 5 children.	Works at distillery. Wife chars. House and children dirty.
4		4	7	(C)	Father, son, 4 young children and nephew.	Two families. Nephew older than his aunt. They sell fish in the street.
6		4	11	(D)	Man, wife, and 9 children.	Labourer. Some of the children at work.
8		4	8	(D)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Tram driver. Respectable.
10		4	8	(D)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Carman. House, wife, and children dirty.
12		2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Sausage maker.
	upstairs				No particulars.	Shoemaker. The house is dirty.
16		4	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Plasterer—lath render.

## STREETS COLOURED PURPLE.

We find in these streets a very wide range of character. All may be represented in the samples to be given, but we cannot say exactly in what proportions the various kinds exist. In some the mixture of poverty is to be found almost in every house, lying very commonly, though not always, floor by floor, in strata. In other streets it goes by houses and then is more easily distinguished. In others, one whole side of the street is better off than the other. In some again, there is one special bit poorer than the rest, perhaps because of bad building, more often from the contaminating influence of other poor property lying near by at the affected point. Finally, we have streets which are poor only at one end, with some of which we have been able to deal on the map. Thus Lady Street, described among the dark blue streets, changes its colour, becoming first purple, and finally pink before the eastern end of it is reached.

The greatest difference in type lies in the size of the houses, especially as regards the number of floors, and this distinction is much enforced when, as is often the case, the larger kind of house has been built for people of larger means than those who now inhabit them, and a dwelling intended for one family is arranged as best may be for two or three families, or even more. Distinctions arising from the number of floors, and from the character of the original design, apply to the light and dark blue streets, and even in some instances to the pink streets, but it is to the purple streets that they apply most.



CUTTER'S ROW.

This street is partly filled by business premises. It has some saw mills and places where wood is sold to the cabinet trades, and one side consists almost entirely of the backs of the large shops in the High Street. It has also a cats meat shop, a dried fish shop, and a fried fish shop in close proximity; also two or three sweets shops. It is a street with plenty of life of its own.

No. 18. Fishmonger's shop, kept by Bloxham, who employs a youth as assistant. Mr. and Mrs. Bloxham live on the first floor above the shop; have one boy at school. On the top floor, front room, lives Mrs. Grantly, a widow, who makes toy whips at 1*d* each, or 5*s* 6*d* and 6*s* 6*d* a gross. Busy about Christmas, when publicans take a lot to give away to the children as presents, just as they give sweets on Sundays at some of the public-houses. The husband has been dead six years. Mrs. Grantly has four children married, one of whom allows her 1*s* weekly. Another son lives with her, and sells papers near the railway station. Rent 2*s* 6*d*. In the back room lives Halhead and his wife. He is an "out-of-work." Used to be cigar-box maker, but trade declined, owing to use of paper packets—women's work. Has lately been working at the docks. They have a girl at service. In the second floor front room lives Pantin, a marble mason, out of work. His wife gets four days a week as laundress; looks thin and wan. Grandmother looks after the two children when their mother is at work. Seem respectable, but have only been here six months.

No. 20. Entrance to large wood yard occupies the ground floor. On top floor lives Peel, a bill-poster, who has been out of work for twelve months, but is now doing a little. There is a wife, but no children. They owe four months' rent, and have had to sell a bedstead. Were burning old boots for fuel when visitor called. Peel drinks.

No. 22 is occupied by the offices of the wood yard.

No. 24. A toy shop. The man Brown hawks toy whips. Trade is bad. His wife and he are elderly people, very decent and struggling.

No. 26. Public-house, changed hands lately, which has been an improvement.

No. 28. Baker's shop, kept by Stein and his wife; they have a grown-up daughter and some young children, and have been here for years. Stein worked for his predecessor. Very respectable people.

No. 30. Second-hand boot shop, kept by Shaw, an elderly man. There is his wife and one daughter at home, and he has three sons married. Lived here many years. No lodgers.

No. 32. Haberdasher's shop, kept by Bird. The wife and daughter do dressmaking, as well as mind shop. The man goes out to work. Very respectable.

No. 34. Ground floor, occupied by Grind, a looking-glass frame maker, as shop. He lives at the back, and has a sick wife and five children, one, a girl at service, and four at home. Very friendly. He sometimes works to order, but more frequently on own account, and then takes his wares round. Works sixteen hours a day, and earns 25s to 30s a week. The first floor of this house is occupied by the Steads. Stead himself is a water-side labourer, but acts also as scene-shifter at the Royal Theatre. His wife used to be a pew-opener. They have two children, a girl, who is a mantle-maker, but now out of work and a boy, who is at home. The wife's mother lives with them. She is widow of a Freeman (Clothworkers' Company), and receives 6s a week pension. She sells lights at the corner of a street in the City, where she had a stall for thirty-four years. The daughter was educated at Cripplegate School. On the top floor there was a dock labourer, with wife and twins, both very poorly. These people are badly off. The man, when last visited, had been out on strike four weeks.

No. 36. The ground floor is occupied by Hilton, a fishmonger and greengrocer, who has his shop next door, and does a fair trade. Has wife and children, of whom two are at work. Very nice man; abstainer. He complained of the number of loafers about in the street. The first floor front was to let, and the occupant of the back room out. On the top floor lives Appleby, a shoemaker, busy now, but had no work for five weeks previously. His wife makes match-boxes. They have one girl at

home. Rent, 4s; owe two weeks. Mrs. Appleby attends church.

No. 15 is a lodging-house, kept by Baker and his wife, helped by their son. It is said to be respectably managed. Service held here every Sunday by a missionary.

No. 13. Public-house.

No. 11. Large dwelling-house. On the ground floor lives Kerr, a general labourer, who is out of work. He worked twenty-one years for a wholesale chemist, and cannot now find employment because of his age (56), although well and hearty. Seems a respectable man. Has a wife and one child. There are three other families in the house (Jews).

No. 9A. Lower part stables. On the first floor, Park, a printer's labourer, with wife and baby. Attend church, Pay 3s for room and small kitchen. At the top lives Gardner, a dealer in sawdust. His wife is an Irish Roman Catholic. She goes out cleaning. They have one girl at service and three children at home. The husband drinks.

No. 9. Barton and his wife live here. Mrs. Park, who lives next door, is their daughter, and they have another daughter, who lives at home, and works with her mother, mending up second-hand clothes for a tailor in Virginia Row. No information as to Barton himself. The Bartons have lived twenty-five years in the neighbourhood. On the top floor lives Slattery, a shunter on the railway. Both Barton and Slattery are Roman Catholics.

No. 7. Mr. and Mrs. Penrose live here. Mrs. Penrose was another daughter of Mrs. Barton. Respectable people.

No. 5. The Mayfields occupy both floors of this house. They have seven children. Have been here about twelve months, having come from Spitalfields. Said they had been very poor, but were doing better now. Accept the occasional teas offered to those who join mothers' meetings or attend mission services, as "of course." Seem very respectable. No information as to husband's business.

Nos. 3 and 1 do not exist any longer.

Altogether there are 25 houses in this street.



## CARVER STREET.

This is a dull looking street, rather wide in proportion to its length. There is a baker's shop at the corner, and a public-house in the middle of the street, accommodated in an ordinary house with part of the next added. Licensed houses of this description are quiet and comfortable, and may be either the most or least respectable. The windows of Carver Street speak the mixed character of its inhabitants. It looks what it is, a typical mixed street of a crowded district, tending towards poverty rather than the reverse; it has one sweet shop; the children do not run in the street much, and altogether there are few signs of life in it at any time compared to poorer streets. The following description of part of its inhabitants tells the story of the street very well. There are 44 houses in all.

No. 1 is occupied by Herbert, a compositor, whose wife has just been locked up for drinking. She wears the blue ribbon for a little time, and then breaks out. There are five children, two being at work. The man has regular work, and might be comfortable but for the drink. He drinks as well as his wife. In one room upstairs lives Toogood, a labourer, with wife and child. The wife goes out charing, and puts out her child, paying a weekly sum for its care.

No. 2 is occupied downstairs (two rooms) by an elderly couple without children. The man works at road repairing for the parish. He used to drink, but has recently become an abstainer. They are quite comfortable. The upper rooms are occupied by the married daughter of this old couple, with her husband, an engineer, and two children of school age. The engineer is in regular work, but is lazy and indifferent, and will at times leave his wife dependent on her parents. She is a very respectable young woman.

No. 3 is occupied by George, a labourer at the electric light works, in fair work. Mrs. George does a little sewing, and two girls are at a factory. The other children are young. They are not very poor, and use three rooms. The remaining room is



occupied by a piano-tuner, in regular work, and his wife, who drinks, or they might be comfortable. They have no children.

No. 4 is occupied on the ground floor by Masters, a labourer, with wife and four small children, three being at school. The man is in regular work. Respectable poor. Above, in one room, is Grainger, dustman, in regular work, with wife and three children; and in the other room is Mrs. Hope, a widow, who has parish relief, and does a little sewing. A blunt, outspoken old woman.

No. 5 is a larger house, with a shop and two rooms at the back, and an attic. The shop (sweet stuff) is kept by Mrs. Topping. Her husband is a porter at Covent Garden, and they have five small children. They just get along. The widowed mother of Mrs. Topping lives with them, and helps with the shop and children. The three upper rooms are occupied by a dustman in regular work, with wife and one child, young people; a labourer, with wife only, getting a fair amount of work; and another labourer, with wife and two children. These people are not very poor.

No. 6 has five rooms. Two are occupied by Granby, an outside porter in regular work, with wife and three children. One by a widow, with two children, who goes out to work. Another by a dustman in regular work, with wife and one child; and the last by Plucking, a shoemaker, with wife and three children. He goes mad with drink at times, and they are very poor indeed. Have no furniture.

No. 7 is occupied downstairs (two rooms) by Wardle, a labourer at the flour mill, in regular work. He has a wife and five children; one boy goes to work; a steady couple, not very poor. Upstairs there lives King, a labourer, in irregular employ, with wife and two children. Rather respectable young people. Poor.

No. 8. Below, in two rooms, there is Street, a regularly employed labourer, with wife and four children, all at school. Very respectable people. On the upper floor lives Upton, who works at the flour mills. He has a wife and four children. Very respectable people. There is a young man lodger occupying a fifth room in this house.

No. 30. Here two rooms are occupied by Harrington, a plasterer, with wife and seven children, all going to school. The man is out of work in winter. The rest of the house is occupied room by room. In one is a labourer, in uncertain work, with wife and one child. Seeming to be very poor. In another a costermonger, selling fruit from a barrow. He has a wife but no children. Decent people. In a third room there is a widow who has parish relief, and does a little sewing and charing. She is as deaf as a post. Finally the fourth single room (formerly the wash-house) is occupied by a begging widow; one of the best beggars in the district. She, too has, parish relief, and does a little charing.

No. 31 includes a small general shop and is occupied by Tincombe and his wife with three children. The wife attends the shop. Tincombe himself is a shoemaker, and has a little shop to work in at the end of the street. They are fairly comfortable. One room in this house is occupied by Brook, a labourer, in irregular work, with wife and one child. Very poor people; and there are some empty rooms.

No. 32 is occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Prentice. Elderly people who have brought up a large family, all now married and gone. Mr. Prentice is working in the country at present. He is a carpenter. One or two rooms are occupied by Mrs. Hand, the widowed daughter of Mrs. Prentice. Her husband was employed in the Post-office, and died leaving her with four children, one of whom has since died. The mother goes to the pickle works, and while she is gone the grandmother takes charge of the children. In another room lives a labourer in fairly regular work, with wife and one child; not very poor, and in another a porter and wife, without children.

No. 33. Two rooms are occupied by Dodgson, a labourer in regular work, with wife and five children, one at work and four at school; the man has bad health in the winter, suffering from chest disease. Very steady, respectable people. In one room lives a labourer and his wife, no children and a fair amount of work. In another a boatman and his wife; middle-aged people; pretty comfortable. And in a third a widow woman, who is poor.

No. 34 is occupied by the widow of a boatman. He committed suicide and left her with eleven children. Some have died, and she has five here now, two of whom go to work, and three to school. She makes sailor jackets, but is nearly blind. Struggles hard for her children. There are also living in this house, in one room Coleman and his wife, and two children. Coleman was a porter but does nothing, preferring to smoke his pipe. His wife takes in washing and keeps him. In another room there lives Brough, a maker of dolls, working for his father who keep a shop in Drumlow Road. He has a wife and two children. A third room is occupied by Owen, a labourer, often out of work, with wife and three children. They are nearly starving. The children are always ill.

No. 35 contains five married couples, one in each room. First, a dustman and his wife, who look dirty and shabby. Second, a labourer in regular work, whose wife drinks. They are elderly people. Third, another labourer in regular work, and his wife. Quiet people. And there are two more.

No. 36 is occupied by the Stevens family. Two rooms by the father and mother, and two by the married son. No children. The fifth room is occupied by a widow with bad eyes, who has out-relief and a little help from the vicar.

No. 37. Two rooms are occupied by a man in regular work at the flour mills, with wife and four children, all at school. Respectable people. Two others by a carpenter, probably in regular work, with wife and three young children. Comfortable. And one room by a widow who is very poor, and has parish relief and help. She is the mother of Upton at No. 8.

No. 38. Half the house is occupied by Roundell, who has regular work at the mills, with wife and four children. Three of these are now at work, one being with his father at the mills. Comfortably off. The other half of this house is occupied by a respectable young couple.

No. 39 is occupied by Marsh, carman for the City Sewers, with wife and four children, all at school; respectable people; and by Patterson, also a carman, whose wife is Marsh's daughter. They have one child. Very comfortable and respectable.



## TRAMP ROAD.

This was once an old country road, and winds along in a way which still suggests the course pursued by a farmer returning from market across the heath. It is now a long street occupied for the most part by comfortable residents, but with here and there a group of shops and here and there a poor piece. One of these poorer pieces is here described.

No. 221 consists of a shop and four rooms, rent 10s, and is occupied by Tingle, a wardrobe dealer, with three children, one of whom, as well as his wife, helps in the shop.

The following houses—223 to 232—have only two rooms and kitchen (or wash-house). Rent, 5s.

No. 223 is occupied by King, a journeyman baker, often laid up with bronchitis, and so unable to work in winter. His wife does brush-making at home, earning about 6s a week. They have five children; one a girl of thirteen, helps a little with the brush-making. The man is now ill, and his wife is expecting her confinement. They are very clean and respectable people, but in great distress. Are receiving some help. Have been sixteen years in the street.

No. 225 is occupied by Beardmore, a navy pensioner with 8s a week. Was wounded several times in action, and is now too infirm to work. His wife does rough tailoring. They have three grown-up children, all away. Just rub along.

No. 227 is occupied by Cann, a shoe finisher, who used to work at home, but on the new trade rules, since the strike, now works at shop and does not do so well, work being irregular, and he unable to make up for slack times by working longer hours when work is plentiful, as he could when working at home. He drinks a little. There are four children at home, one at a factory and three at school, and a girl away at service and a son in the army. These people are rather poor.

No. 229 is occupied by Taplin, a labourer in regular employ, with wife but no children. Comfortably off.



No. 231 is occupied by Bunting, a bricklayer's labourer, now out of work, with wife and five young children. The wife does not earn anything. Very respectable, clean people, whose life is a struggle.

No. 233 is occupied by Raikes, a manufacturing chemist now working at home in a very small way. He has a little still and prepares acids, medicines, &c. He was once in a good way of business, but had reverses. Seems very decent but poor. Lives alone.

No. 235 is occupied by Hanford, a painter. His wife takes in a child to mind, and does a little needlework. They have a daughter working at the jam factory. The man drinks a little, but the wife is very decent. They seem pretty comfortable.

No. 237 is (like No. 221) a shop and four rooms at 10s rent, and is occupied by Mrs. Sampson, a widow, for the sale of bread. They do not bake. There is little trade, and the widow takes in washing to eke out. She has a daughter, a fur-sewer, who earns 5s 6d. An aged widow also lives with her, kept entirely for the 4s allowed by the parish, and there is also a nurse-child for whom the mother, who was in service, paid; but she is now ill in the infirmary and can pay nothing. In addition Mrs. Sampson has just taken a young man lodger at 3s a week. A most respectable, striving woman, who keeps up an appearance, but has a very hard struggle.

No. 239. Also four rooms and shop; is to let, and has been empty a long time.

No. 241, another shop, is occupied by Sandison as a laundry. Man, wife, and two daughters all work at the business. Hard-working people. Comfortable.

No. 243, shop only, is a marine store belonging to Mr. Tingle of No. 221.

No. 245 is the George public-house, whose landlady has recently retired, and her son has married and taken to the business.

*Gordon Road.* This road, or street, is on the poorer side of purple. The houses, of about 16 feet or 17 feet frontage, are of three storeys, except a few at one end, which have two storeys only. Some of them spring straight from the ground, with a small space fenced off between house-front and roadway; others rise from a half basement, the parlour floor being reached as usual by a high "stoop." Many of the houses are out of repair, and all look wretchedly built. The cement is cracked and crumbling. Each floor looks as if it had its family, and most show signs of poverty.

In at least four windows there were notices that "mangling is done here," giving promise of but small custom for each. Other minor industries, such as dressmaking and bootmending, are represented, but the street is essentially residential in character. The shops (except one) are at the final corners, situated, that is, really in the main streets. Some of the houses may receive lodgers, but the announcements take the form "lodgings for a respectable single man," which marks a low level in the social scale. This street is situated in a remote district, at the outermost edge of the map.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
22		6	(F)	Man, wife, and several children.	Cabinet maker. Comfortable. Keep the house.	
24		6	6	(F)	Man, wife, and about 4 children.	Comfortable people.
26	shop	6	5	(F)	Man, wife, and some children.	Sweet-stuff shop.
28		6	3	(E)	Man, wife, and man's brother.	Salvation Army people. Poor and rough.
30		3	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Tailor. He probably drinks. Girl a pupil teacher. 2 boys at school.
		3	6	(B)	Man, wife, and several children.	Drinks terribly. Miserable family. Been in the workhouse.
32		3	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 young children.	Fish hawk. Ill all autumn.
		3			Another family.	No particulars.
34		3	5		Man, wife, and 3 children.	No particulars.
		3	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 or 5 children.	Painter, often out of work. Now very steady. Poor.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
36		3	2	(B)	Widow and daughter.	Let rooms to lodgers. Daughter was in service, came home because mother was ill.
		3	2	(B)	Old couple.	Man cannot work much. Very poor.
38		6	2	(E)	Old man and wife.	Tailor, but crippled and paralysed. The wife was a school-mistress. Are fairly well to do. Take a lodger sometimes.
(Larger houses.)						
40	shop	6	8	(E)	Man, wife, and about 6 children.	Keep the shop. Grown-up son works with father. Big daughter is at home because mother is ill.
52	private house	5		(E)	Man, wife, and 2 or 3 children.	Caretakers. Man works as a waiter.
54		8		(D)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Railway porter, 18s and tips. Wife a good manager.
		3		(D)	Widow and 2 sons.	One son at work, the others might be.
56		8		(D)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Railway porter, 18s and tips. Wife chronic invalid. One girl at service. Has 2 or 3 children to look after, getting 6s or 7s a week. Respectable but poor.
		3		(E)	Man, wife, and 1 young child.	Paperhanger.
58		4	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 young children.	Shoemaker. Respectable, but very poor.
		2	2	(D)	Man and wife.	
60		4	6	(E)	Man, wife, and several children.	Respectable. Belong to Salvation Army.
		2	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Belong to Salvation Army.
62						No particulars.
64		4	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Labourer, probably drinks. 1 child a cripple. Boy aged 16 at work. Most untidy and dirty.
		2	1	(C)	Widow.	Takes in children to mind by the day. Poor.
66		2	3	(C)	Widow and 2 children.	Laundress. 3 children in Licensed Victuallers' School.
		4		(E)	New family.	Man works on railway.

*Norman Passage.* Norman Square has come to be the centre of a poor district. Only a few old residents remain, and there may be a deaconesses' home or a clergy-house. Once well-to-do, or even fashionable, it is now given up mainly to wholesale or manufacturing business premises. Into this square, from one of the least poor of the surrounding streets, leads Norman Passage, a flagged footway of fair breadth, lined on both sides by small shops. It was probably of the original design that there should be shops here to supply the daily wants of the residents in the square and round about; but the square has now no daily wants, or supplies them elsewhere, and the surrounding poor buy at shops in their own streets. So Norman Passage, as the sort of place in which a passer-by is not unlikely to linger, has adopted the hole-and-corner trades, which especially deal in second-hand furniture, curiosities, old prints, and tattered books, and caters for the custom of the hunter after bargains. Among the rest there may be a barber's shop doing a quiet business, but all the others have an ill-kept, grimy, hopeless look, and appear to lack economic justification.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
5	ground floor	2	3	(E)	Man, wife, and child.	1 Furniture dealer.
	first front	1			No information.	
	first back	1	6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Machine-ruler. Usually out of work. Wife washes. Neglected and dirty children.
	second back	1			No information.	
	third front	1	3	(E)	2 brothers and sister	1 waiter, 1 a porter, Niece half-witted.
	third back	1			No information.	
6	ground floor	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Newspaper shop. Very respectable and decent. 2 children grown up.
	first floor	2	2	(E)	Married son and daughter.	
	second floor	2	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Bootmaker. Wife bad health. Does little charing. Respectable and poor.
	third front	1	2	(D)	Old woman and niece	Shirtmaker, (75 years). Niece helps. Very respectable.



No.		Rms.	Pers.			
7		2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Second-hand bookdealer. Bets. Beats wife, and drinks.
	rest of house			(B)	3 other families.	Very poor. Constantly changing.
8	ground floor	1	1	(B)	Man single.	Second-hand furniture. No trade. Very poor. Drinks.
	first floor	1	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 daughters.	Labourer, drinks. Wife chars. The daughters are young.
	first back	1	1	(B)	Widow.	Alone.
	second front	1	3	(C)	Widow, and 2 girls.	Chars. Works hard. Girls at factory. Very deserving.
	second back				Empty.	
	third floor	2	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Labourer (18s a week). Always ailing. Poor.
9	house	3	3	(E)	Man who lodges, widow and daughter.	Latch maker. Widow a caretaker. Comfortable.
10					Public-house.	Very respectable.
11	house	4	5	(E)	Man and 3 daughters. 1 lodger.	Boot shop, works at Post office. Employs a journeyman. Good work. 2 daughters pupil teachers. 1 well-to-do at home. Lodger keeps the second-hand book shop next door. Comfortable.
12	ground floor	2	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Shell-fish, soup shop. Comfortable.
	second floor	1	3	(D)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Carpenter and jobber. Young people. Poor.
	second back	1	3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Respectable young people.
	third front and back	2	3	(B)	Woman, her mother, and child.	Box-maker, very hard worker. Keeps her mother (85). Just gets along.
13	common lodging-house			(E)	Woman keeps it.	Fairly well off.
14	first floor	2	2	(E)	Man and son.	Coalman and grocer. Good work.
	second floor	2	2	(D)	Widow and grandson.	He keeps her.
	third floor	1	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Beadle of Norman Square. Drinks or should do well.

*Back Park Row.* This place is now half street, half mews, and has once been more mews than street. Many of the stables have been turned into workshops or stores, a number being used for storage of ice, and of those which are still occupied by horses, a large part are held by a carman and contractor, whose vans do not enter the coach-houses but, when at home, line and half block the narrow roadway. The street is long, in two reaches, and opposite the stores and stables are a rather shabby row of houses with a proportion of shops interposed. A cats-meat place, a buyer of bottles and kitchen stuff, shops which sell sweets, and, it may be, one or two more of small importance. The inhabitants go elsewhere to obtain their household supplies.

No.		Rms. Pers.				
11	over stables	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Coal porter. All at work. Comfortable.
13	over stables	2	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 young children.	Carman. About 24s a week. A struggle.
15	over stables	2	3	(E)	Widower and 2 young children.	Carman. 25s.
17	over stables	2	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 young children.	Carman. 25s. Wife very delicate.
19	over stables	1			Stables and 1 room.	No information.
21	over stables	2	6	(D)	Man, wife, daughter, and 2 or 3 grandchildren (of a dead daughter).	Cabdriver. Elderly man. Daughter at work.
23	over stables	2	3	(E)	Young couple and baby.	Cabdriver. Just come.
25	over stables	2			A family.	Just come.
27 & 29	business premises }				Builder and decorator.	
31	house	2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Man ill and can't work. Wife chars. 12s a week. 1 son and 1 daughter at work. Girl gets about 12s, boy about 15s. Another girl, lame, is at home. Bad health. Girl nurses. Boy gets 12s a week. Younger girl nurses a baby. 1s 6d.
33	ground floor	1	4	(B)	Widow, 2 girls, 1 boy.	Man always out of work. Wife takes a nurse-child.
	ground back	1	2	(B)	Man and wife.	At a carriage factory. Rent house. Comfortable.
	first floor	2	3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 son.	

No.		Rms. Pers.			
35	ground			Workshop	
	first floor	2	2	(B) Widow and daughter.	Both charing. Very poor. Rent 5s.
	second floor	2	5	Man, wife, and 3 children.	No particulars.
2		2	6	(D) Man, wife, and 4 children.	Carman. £1 a week. Rent 7s 6d. Respectable poor.
4			5	(D) Man, wife, and 3 children.	Always poor. 1 room. 6s.
6			4	(B) Widower and 3 children.	Costermonger. Earnings precarious. Rent 5s. Quite poor.
8			6	(B) Man, wife, and 4 children.	Horsekeeper. 9s a week. Sickly children. Very poor.
10			6	(E) Man, wife, and 4 children.	Good tradesman. Comfortable, if he likes.
12			2	(D) Widow and daughter. Son abroad.	Shop and a mangle. Daughter is school teacher. Very respectable.
14			3	(E) Man, wife, and child.	Comfortably off. Rent 6s.
16		1	4	(B) Widow and 3 children.	Goes out charing. 1 room, 5s. Struggling.
18			3	(B) Widow and 2 sons.	Lines flat baskets and gets a few shillings. Rent, 1 room, 5s.
20			1	(B) Widower. Children away.	Shoemaker (73). Says he is very poor.
22			5	(D) Man, wife, and 2 or 3 children.	Carman. Regular work. £1 a week. Rent, 7s 6d a week.
24			2	(D) Old couple.	Night-watchman. Wife washes. Poor.
26			5	(E) Man, wife, and 3 grown-up children.	All earn something. Rent 10s. Comfortably off.
28			3	(D) Widower and 2 children.	Carman. Regular. £1 a week. Wife just dead. Rent 7s 6d.
30			6	(E) Old couple. Several sons and daughters.	All help. Old couple cannot work. Comfortable.
32			2	(D) Old couple.	Tailor. Poor.
34			6	(D) Man, wife, and 4 children.	Carman. £1 a week. Wife sickly. Rent 7s 6d.

*Peel Street.* This Street, though coloured purple, does not look very much better for character than its neighbours in blue and black. There is a low, vicious look about the people which seems to stamp itself upon the houses. This street, like the rest of the group of which it forms one, is closed at the lower end by the Railway line. The visitor has had this street to visit for about thirteen years. The rents used to be 9s or 10s a week, and are now 13s. The street used to be called Cleveland Street, but it had so bad a reputation that the name was changed. It has improved much since then, he says. The people come and go very frequently in some of the houses.

No.	Rms.	Pers.		
			Six rooms and a kitchen.	
26	6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Organ builder. Little work. Very poor.
28	3	(D)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Labourer. In regular work.
	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Costermonger. Just come.
30	7	(B)	Widow and 6 young children.	Very poor indeed.
	2	(B)	Old couple.	Always ill.
32	4	(E)	Man, wife, and grown-up children.	Pointsman. Very respectable family.
	2	(D)	Young couple.	Man in R.N. Wife daughter of pointsman. Man was a labourer before joining the navy.
34	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Costermonger. Has horse and cart. Very well off.
	1 room	1	Single man.	Tinker.
36	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Labourer. Regular work on railway.
	2		Widow and 1 son.	Widow drinks. Lives as she can. Son is at work.
38	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Labourer on railway. Regular work.
	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Horsekeeper. Regular work.



No.	Rms.	Pers.		
40	2	(E)	Man and wife (elderly).	Sawdust dealer. Have horse and cart. Very respectable.
	6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Labourer. Drinks. Family very poor in consequence.
42			Public-house.	
44	shop	2	(D) Widow and 1 daughter.	Husband, a carman, died lately. Daughter attends the shop.
46		5	(B) Man, wife, and 3 young children.	Labourer. Often out of work. Very poor.
		5	(B) Man, wife, and 3 children.	Labourer. Has been much out of work. Very poor. Wife was a servant.
48		7	(E) Man, wife, and 5 or 6 children.	Carpenter. Some of children grown up. Very respectable.
5		6	(E) Man, wife, and 4 children.	Horsekeeper. Very respectable nice people.
52		10	(D) Man, wife, and 8 children.	Has a small pension. Married 11 years. Poor.
54		4	(E) Man, wife, and 2 children.	Railway labourer. Regular work.
		2	(B) A very old couple.	Supported by son who lives opposite.
56		6	(B) Man, wife, and 4 children.	Platelayer. Lately come very poor. Always wanting something.
		3	(D) Man, wife, and 1 child.	Railway labourer. Poor.
58		6	(D) Man, wife, and 4 children.	Carman at railway. About 20s. Clean and respectable home.
60		3	(E) Man, wife, and 1 child.	Blacksmith. Well off.
		7	(B) Man, wife, and 5 children.	Labourer. Out of work. Wife has work. Have been here three months.

*Major Road, Captain Street, Trooper Street.* These three streets, leading the one out of the other, of which short pieces are described in detail below, do not vary very much in character. Major Road is the more important of the three, leading directly through from one main street to the next. In it stands the church, and in every way it ranks slightly above the other two. All are quiet residential streets, and all are "spotted" with poverty. At one end of Major Road, and all the length of Captain Street, the houses are of three stories, starting with a basement half above ground, well lighted from areas which are almost little gardens, sloping down from the level of the street to that of the basement windows. The parlour floor is reached by a high flight of steps arched over the entrances to the floor below, and thus has the great advantage of commanding the street, without being itself overlooked by passers-by. The houses at the further end of Major Road and throughout Trooper Street are of two storeys only, without basement or cellars, springing, it would seem, straight from the foundations. All the houses have fifteen feet frontage. The dwellers in Captain Street seem to be poorer on the whole than those in Major Road; in both there is a mixture of poor and comfortably off. Trooper Street may be poor, or poorer on the average, but appears less mixed, and the humbler two-storied houses in Major Road make the same impression. Here and there all through we see indications of business carried on. "Collar hands are wanted," in one place; "Gloves cleaned and feathers dyed and curled" in another; "Boots made and repaired" in a third; and in more than one place shirts and collars are "dressed." Major Road and Captain Street have no shops, except at some of the corners there may be a baker's, or a greengrocer's, or a public-house. Trooper Street, however, has its "general" shop for sweet stuff, soap, &c.

## MAJOR ROAD.

No.	Rms. Pers.					
12	5	6	(D)	Man, wife, and young children.	4	Labourer, earning 26s a week.
	1	1	(D)	Wife's father.		An old seaman; has 2s 6d out-relief, and his daughter helps him.
14		1	(D)	Widow.		Laundress; very steady person.
	2			A family.		No particulars.

No.	Rms. Pers.					
37	2	6	(E)	Widower and 5 children.	This man has just died, and their grandmother is looking after the children. He earned 28s at a printer's, but for twelve months had been ill of consumption. The eldest child (girl of 15) works at the printer's.	
	take the house	4	8	(F)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Brewer's drayman, 38s. Untidy wife; children all under 12.
35		3	4	(C)	Man, wife; no small children.	Labourer tea warehouses; irregular work. Wife has a mangle. Some sons help a little. Poor, but do not bring their poverty forward.
		3	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 young children.	Tin-plate worker, earning about 26s a week.
33		3	2	(F)	Man and wife (age 50 to 60).	The woman is a collar dresser, and her husband helps. They employ three women, and do fairly well.
		2	4	(C)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Haddock smoker; irregular earnings. Untidy, dissipated people.
		1	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Carman, earning 25s. Dirty home.
31		6	4	(F)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Master bricklayer. Does well. Keeps the house, and lives comfortably.
TROOPER STREET.						
2	6	4	(D)	Widow and 3 children.	Helped by older sons, and lets her rooms.	
		1		Young woman.	Basket work; earns 14s a week.	
4	6	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Bricklayer. Two sons help their father. Very dirty and dissipated.	
		2	(D)	Young couple.	Man helps the bricklayer, whose daughter his wife is. These families continually plead poverty, but should be comfortable.	
6		9	(D)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Tinman at biscuit works. Steady people. Just manage, but are poor.	
		2	(B)	Aged couple.	Have 2s from a son, and 2s 6d from parish.	
8		6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Barber; a struggling man. A new-comer.	
		1	(D)	Widow.	Small pension. Daughter comes to see after her	





No.		Rms. Pers.				
	first floor	2				No information.
	second floor	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Cabman. Do all right.
12	Ground and first floor	5	7	(F)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Foreman. Good wages. Two children at work.
	second floor	2	3	(F)	Man and wife, and perhaps child.	Policeman.
14	Ground, first back	4	5	(E)	A family.	Appear comfortable.
		1	2	(B)	Man and wife.	Were well off with a house full of furniture; have come down partly through drink. Man now ill, and they are very poor.
	second floor					No information.
16			3	(E)	Widow and some children.	Dressmaker.
	first floor	1	1	(D)	Single woman.	Dressmaker; probably works for widow.
	,,	1	3	(D)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Horse - keeper; just manage.
	second floor	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and some children.	Have enough to live on.
18	ground floor	5	4	(F)	Man, wife, and 1 or 2 grandchildren.	Clerk. The children are at work; others away married.
	second floor	2	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Labourer. Regular employ.
20	ground	2	3	(D)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Poor people.
	ante room	1	1	(D)	Old man.	Pensioner, and has some help.
	first floor front	1	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Horse-keeper.
	first back	1	1	(E)	Single man.	Composer.
	second front	1	1	(E)	Widower.	Horse-keeper.
	second back	1	1	(C)	Widow.	Needlewoman.
22	ground	4	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Labourer at distillery. Wages a little over 20s. Children at school.
	first front	1	1	(B)	Widow.	Nurse. Husband died 6 months ago; they were very poor when he was alive.
	second	2	4	(C)	Widow and 3 or 4 children.	Husband just died of consumption. Has no work at present. Two children earn a little.

*Upwell Road* is situate in the midst of a district where the jerry builder has worked his will, and within a few years has turned green fields into a closely-built mass of houses. This road is a good illustration of the difficulties encountered in classifying the streets. One side consists of three-storeyed houses, containing in most cases eight rooms and a small out-building. Being too large for the neighbourhood, they were let in tenements, and now present a poor and dingy appearance. Little care is given to their preservation, and the action of the weather is revealing the shortcomings of the builder. Built a few years later, the houses on the other side have six rooms, the three rooms on each floor being arranged for the use of a family. The front of the houses is relieved by bay windows, and the well-kept condition of the building and the neat appearance of the windows form a decided contrast with the dirt and squalor on the opposite side of the road.

No.	Rms.	Pers.			
2	4	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 girls	Engineer. Two girls nearly blind.
	4	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Works at piano factory. Comfortable.
	3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Earns 25s a week.
3	2	4	(D)	Widow and 3 children.	Laundry. Boy earns 6s.
	1	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Cabman. Drinks very much.
	1	2	(B)	Man and wife.	Painter. Out of work a long time. Wife at laundry.
	5	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Gardener. Regular work at park. Wife at laundry; ought to be comfortable, but wife drinks.
4	1	2	(B)	Old couple.	Was a minister; much reduced; have out-relief.
	1	3	(D)	Man, wife, and baby.	Earns 20s a week.
		9	(B)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Goods porter; 20s and some overtime. Need help in sickness. Wife machines. Poor.

No.		Rms. Pers.		Empty.	
5	ground floor	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children, and wife's sister.
		2	9	(D)	Man, wife, and 7 children.
6		2	2	(C)	Man and wife; no children.
		3	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.
		2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.
7		2	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.
		2	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.
34	ground	3	2	(F)	Man and wife.
	first floor	3	2	(E)	Man and wife.
35	ground	3	4	(C)	Man, wife, and 2 children.
	first floor	3	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.
36	ground	3	4	(F)	Man, wife, and 2 children.
	first floor	3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.
37	ground	3	2	(F)	Newly-married couple.
	first floor	3	4	(F)	Man, wife, and 2 children.
38	ground	3	2	(E)	Two old maids.
	first floor	3	3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 child.
39	ground	3	5	(F)	Man, wife, and 3 children.
	first floor	3	3	(F)	Man, wife, and niece.
					Earns about 25s a week. Very steady. Wife drinks.
					Omnibus driver. One boy earns 4s. Low drinking people. Very poor. Always want school fees remitting.
					Grainer. Very irregular work. Drink. Very poor.
					Carter. One boy earns 4s. Teetotalers (Sons of Phoenix).
					Potman; fairly steady. Wife drinks, but has kept pledge for 6 months. Poor.
					Labourer; irregular. Earns about 20s when in work. Both parents drink. Very poor indeed.
					Coach-painter; irregular; about 30s when in work. Is out now. Wife chars. Much sickness in family. Man was 8 years in one situation and saved some money. Bought a cab and horses. Horses died, and that ruined him. Steady people.
					Engineer.
					Labourer. One daughter at service.
					Brewer's labourer; irregular work.
					Cabman. Comfortable.
					Butcher's manager. Very respectable.
					Iron founder. Man drinks.
					Architect.
					Photographer.
					Small income.
					Policeman.
					Clerk.
					Stable foreman.

*Turner Road.* The poverty in this street is not obtrusive. The houses are of a neat pattern, and pretty well kept. They are of 16 feet frontage, with two storeys and a handsome bow window. The bow window is used in several as shop front. One is a chemist's, another has a tempting display of sweets and toys. A third is a boot shop. Another not so much shop as workshop is used by a man who repairs clocks, and who announces "Electroplating done while you wait." Other little industries find a place—mangling, collar-dressing, &c. At one end of the street the corners are occupied by a dairy and the head-quarters of an agent of the Prudential. At the other end there is a general shop for provisions, including bread, biscuits, groceries, and oranges. In the last article the shop is not without competition, for as I pass two men with a load of the yellow fruit on a barrow shout their offers of them—four and six a penny. Part of one side of the street is given in the following details:—

No.	Rms. Pers.					
4	6	10	(C)	Man, wife, and 8 children. Lodgers have gone.	8	Cabman; irregular work. Wife does washing. Two children at work, rest under 15; respectable, but poor. Rooms empty now.
6	3	7	(C)	Man, wife, and children.	5	Coalman (selling coal with a cart). Suffers from asthma in the winter; wife goes out nursing or washing; eldest boy stays home from school. Very poor, but very clean.
	2	2	(C)	Man and wife.		Wharf labourer; irregular; wife does washing; steady sort of man. Poor.
	1	4	(B)	Man, wife, and children.	2	Was working at saw mills, but has been out of work for 2 months. Unthrifty wife. Dirty people.
8	3	2	(E)	Man and wife, no children.		Hatter, in regular work. Comfortable.
	3	3	(E)	Man, wife, and child.	1	Hatter, works with the above. Very comfortable.



No.	Rms.	Pers.			
10	4	8	(E)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Regular work ; 4 of the children over 15 and 3 at work (all boys) ; seem comfortable. Were in business.
	2	3	(D)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Coalman (with cart). Business best in winter. Decent people.
12	6	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children, no lodgers.	Dock work. Wife makes caps. One boy at work. Rather poor, but children are not badly kept.
14	6	6	(D)	Widower and 4 young children, and widow's sister lives here.	Odd jobs. Just manage to get along. Has turned the front parlour into a shop.
		1	(E)	Single woman lodger.	Away at work all day.
16	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Regular night work ; wife has been ill ; 2 children at work ; 1 daughter stays at home.
	1	2	(E)	Two young men lodgers.	
	3	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Widower, who has just married again.
18	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 young children.	Works at fish market.
	2	2	(B)	Blind man and blind wife, no children living.	Basket maker, brother to the fish market man. Used to go round with laces to sell. Poor.
20	2	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Biscuit works. Had to leave engineering because of rheumatism. Are comfortable now ; daughter married and gone.
	2	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Printing trade ; doing fairly well ; eldest child going to school. No great need.
22	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Carpenter. One child can just run, other in arms.
	1	2	(E)	Father and brother of carpenter's wife.	
	2	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children, and man's sister.	Wife works ; man's sister 13 years old. Poor but clean. Respectable.

*Avon Road.* A long street, with a curve in it; on both sides two-storey houses, springing from the foot-walk, without any area or railing. The homes, it would seem, of very respectable, quiet people, some of whom, no doubt, are quite poor, and none make any show. The particulars which follow apply to part of the south side, and are said to be a fair sample of the whole street:—

No.		Rms. Pers.				
103	5 rooms and scullery.	4	3	(D)	Three sisters.	Two go to work.
		1	2	(D)	Man and wife, lodgers.	Cabman. No children.
101		4	8	(C)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Labourer at ironworks. Wife washing. Man a teetotaler. Very poor at times.
		1	1	(D)	Old woman.	Lives on her savings. Workhouse when ill.
99		2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Compositor. Probably comfortable.
		2	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Fellowship porter. Does not do very well.
		1	1	(E)	Single man.	Coal trimmer.
97		5	11	(E)	Man, wife, and 9 children.	Sawdust contractor. Two children at work. Keep the house and are comfortable.
95		3	3	(D)	Widow and 2 daughters.	The daughters go to work and support their mother.
		2	3	(F)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Salesman, at wholesale place.
93		4	2	(D)	Man and wife	Painter. No work in winter. Wife works.
		1	3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	No particulars.
91			6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 grown children.	Compositor. Out of work. Is partially paralyzed. Girls are dressmakers. One boy a printer's reader. Place very dirty. Would let if they could.
89					Unknown.	
87					„	New people.
85		4	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Cricket-ball maker. Wife does washing. Drinks.
		1	4	(D)	Widow and 3 girls.	Goes out charing. Two girls at work.
		1	1	(E)	Single man.	Butcher's assistant.

No. 83	Rms. 2	Pers. 2	(C)	Man and wife.	Painter. Delicate. Out of work. Brute to his wife. Wife works. Often out of work.
	1	2	(E)	Man and wife. Children grown up.	Carpenter. Both drink like fishes.
	1	1	(D)	Woman alone.	Ironer. Seems poor.
81	3	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Billiard-marker. Tidy. Man gets 15s a week, board and lodging.
	1	1	(D)	Widow.	Doesn't work. Minds the children of the other woman (her daughter) when out.
79	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Porter at Civil Service Stores. Regular, but small wages. Wife does nothing. Man a teetotaler.
	2	2	(E)	Widow, 1 child.	Dressmaker. Keeps up a good appearance.
	1	1	(B)	Spinster, old and crippled.	Collar factory. Rheumatic. Used to have parish relief.
77	3	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Carman. Wife does nothing. Three children earn something. Very comfortable.
	1	4	(B)	Widower, 3 children.	Are very poor and wretched.
		3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Carver at hotel. Wife does nothing.
	3	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Potman, out of work generally. He drinks. Wife does nothing. Very miserable.
73	4	3	(D)	Man, wife, and blind grandchild.	Porter at draper's. Wife does nothing. Keep the grandchild. Man works for his son who pays him 10s a week.
	1	1	(E)	One man.	Clerk. Single man.
71					Public - house, now closed. Last occupier failed.
69		6	(D)	Woman, her mother, and 4 children.	Needlewoman. Separated from husband, who gives her a small allowance. Mother a widow.
	2	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Bricklayer. Wife goes out washing. Man drinks and beats her fearfully.

*Ross Street.* Situated on the same estate as Palmer's Place (light blue), the plan of the houses is similar, but they have not been painted in the same colour, and look less attractive. There are here not many signs of poverty to one who merely passes by. They are large tenement houses, four floors, with two rooms on each floor.

No.		Rms. Pers.				
11	ground floor	2	7	(B)	Separated wife, 6 children.	Dresser at theatre. One boy at work. Married daughters help. Poor.
	first floor	2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Letter - sorter. Very tidy people.
	second floor	2	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Carman. 20s regular. Very tidy.
	third floor	2	5	(B)	Widow, 3 children, and grandmother.	Dressmaking. Long hours, small earnings.
13	ground floor	2	3	(C)	Man, wife, and grand-child.	Bricklayer. Drinks, or might have good work. Children all grown-up.
	first floor				Empty.	
	second	2	3	(C)	Man, wife, and grand-child.	Carpenter. Has been three months in work, was out before. Elderly man.
	third				Empty.	
15	ground floor	2	9	(C)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Picture-frame maker. Been out of work two months. His work goes by seasons, and in off season he is always out of work. Two children at work. Do not seem poor.
	first floor	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Compositor. On piece work. Two days a week. Very tidy.
	second floor				Unknown.	
	third floor	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Scene-painter. Regular work. Wife sick nurse.
17	ground floor	1	3	(D)	Widow and 2 sons.	Washing. One son earns a little. One boy gets 7s a week.
	first floor	2	5	(E)	Widower, 3 children, 1 housekeeper.	Dock labourer. One child at work. House-keeper looks after children. Seem well off.
	second floor	1	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Coachbuilder. Out of work. Just come here for refuge. Very poor indeed.
	third				Empty.	



No.		Rms.	Pers.			
27	ground floor	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Brewer's labourer. In work. Has four children and has lost four. Rent 6s 6d. Poor.	
	first floor	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Carpenter. Very tidy and comfortable.	
	second floor			Unknown.		
	third floor	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Compositor (apprentice). 23s a week. Just married. Rent 5s 6d.	
29	ground floor	2	2	(E) Man and wife.	Policeman. Wife very ill. No children. Man drinks and has been reduced in consequence.	
	first floor	2	1	(D) Widow alone.	Husband was a caretaker. Allowance, 13s a week.	
	second floor	2	2	(D) Widow of policeman, and granddaughter.	Her son was in Lancers. Has gone to Newcastle for work. Has a little daughter. Two daughters, servants, help.	
	third floor	2		Empty.		
31	ground floor	2	3	(E) Man, wife, and little boy.	Carpenter and joiner. Well off. New-comers. Have turned out two widows of Mohawk minstrels. One made girls' cloaks and got 4s to 7s, finding material, thread, &c.	
	first floor	2	4	(E) Man, wife, 1 child, and mother.	Messenger. Regular work. Well off.	
	second floor	2	2	(E) Man and wife.	Made fortune in Brighton. Wife indignant at a proposal to get work for her husband.	
	third floor	2	2	(E) Man and 1 child.	Compositor. Wife never at home.	
33	ground floor	4	10	(E) Man, wife, and 8 children.	Compositor. All eight children at home. Six dependent. One boy out of work. Other boy's work not known. Dirty, but not poor.	
	third & second	3	6	(E) Man, wife, and 4 children.	Typefounder. One child dependent. The eldest daughter a packer.	

*Shakespear Place.* Two-storeyed houses, without backs, but having an open space in front fenced in with wooden railings. It may once have been set as a garden, but is now waste. These houses look as though more might be made of them. They are situated amongst courts and places which are worse, and may be partly dragged down to the surrounding level.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
2	ground	2	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Dock work. Aged and steady people. Man was not always so. Is father to the man upstairs.
	upper	2	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 little children.	Works with his father at the docks.
4	house	4	9	(E)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Slater. One son works with father. Comfortable. Never want help.
6	house	4	3	(E)	Old man and 2 sons.	Sawyer. The old man has money laid by. He makes 21s a week. The sons work also, but one is a cripple. Both are inveterate drunkards.
8	house	4	4	(E)	Widow and widowed daughter and 2 sons.	Daughter works in the City, the sons at the docks. Clean people, and fairly comfortable.
10		2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 boys.	Slaughterman. Was out of work for about a month. Wife does not work. Boys at school.
	upstairs	2	2	(D)	Old man and a woman.	Ship-scraper, but now makes mats. The woman is not quite right.
12	house	4	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 or 6 children.	Dock work. Wife does not work. One daughter in service. Were very untidy. Improving.
		4	1	(D)	Widow.	Widow has a mangle, and does pretty well.
			2	(C)	Man and wife.	Dock work. Now laid up ill with chest disease. His wife helps her mother (the widow) with the mangle.

16	4	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children. Had a lodger, but he left and they do not want another.	Corn - wharf labourer. Does fairly well. Wife works hard keeping the house, and has bad legs. One son works with the father. Country people, from Leicestershire.
18	3	3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 son.	Carman. Son works at same place. Daughter away in service. Never plead poverty.
20	1	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Casual labourer.
	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Whitelead factory. Wife does not work. Comfortable and very respectable.
22	2	2	(C)	Widow and 1 son.	Son works at docks. She has asked parish relief.
	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Clean and very respectable.
	2	3	(E)	Man, wife, and young child.	Dock labourer. Not poor.
24	4	4	(F)	Man, wife, and 2 sons.	Said to be a stevedore. Wife drinks. Sons at work. Should be comfortable.
26	4	4	(C)	Man, wife, and 2 young children.	Works in docks. Wife drinks. Very poor and noisy.
28				Unknown.	
30	4	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 sons.	Shipwright. Work irregular. Has bad health. Two sons at work in docks. Two at school. Have one married daughter, and one in service.
32	4	4	(F)	Man, wife, and son and daughter.	Lighterman. Wife did military-cap work, but is very ill. Daughter helps her mother when at work. Son at work. Another daughter in service. Decent and comfortable. Clean house.
34	4	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 young children.	Works in docks. Wife does a little shirt work. Let if they can.
36	4	3	(E)	Aged couple and 1 son.	Stevedore. Good wages. Son works in docks. Clean and respectable.

*Patriot Street.* This is an old street of varying width, the frontage of the property being set back irregularly. The buildings in it are of various styles and dates, the latest have been specially built for wholesale or manufacturing premises; the oldest are private houses turned into shops, while between the two are regular shops of an old-fashioned type. As a shop street its day is past. A few are left which still supply local household wants, several have been turned into coffee-shops, but most are either used in connection with manufacturing premises in the rear, or deal as shops, not so much in household as in industrial wants, supplying the multifarious things needed by the workers in many minor trades. The upper parts of the houses are often let to poor people, and the result is a typical mixture to be found very commonly in the crowded and industrial parts of London. The street has a black and gloomy look, which is made worse by several places where houses have been closed but not yet pulled down or demolished, and some of the houses still standing and occupied look as though their day was done.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
131 }			(E)			Brass finisher's. Care-taker lives on premises.
133 }						Public - house. Man
135 }			(G)			lends money to people for stock, at 2s in the £ for three days.
137	house & shop	6	(D)	Man, wife, and children.	4	Jobbing carpenter. Wife keeps small shop. One girl was in service, but now home. Rather poor.
139	3 & shop	6	(E)	Man, wife, and children.	4	Keep a small newspaper shop.
	1	1	(D)	Separated woman.		Paper sorter.
141		4	(E)	Old couple, and grown-up sons.	2	Sons are at work, but drink. Roman Catholics.
		6	(C)	Man, wife, and children.	4	Carman. Sometimes out of work. A girl at service.
143 }			(E)			Brassfounder's. Care-taker lives here.
145 }						
147						Empty.
149	house & shop	6	(E)	Man, wife, 3 children, and a servant girl.		Eating-house. Although keeping a servant they have a hard time of it. Nice people.



No.			Rms.	Pers.			
151						Grocer's shop.	No resident.
153	house & shop	2	(E)	Man and woman (not married).		Old furniture dealer	Two daughters in service.
		5	(C)	Man, wife, and children.	3	Reader's assistant.	Wife a book - folder. Probably not in regular work.
		4	(C)	Man, wife, and children.	2	Reader	(irregular) Rough and dirty.
155	Small house & shop	2	(E)	Man and wife.		Old curiosity shop.	New comers. Germans.
157	4 & shop	4	(E)	Widow, servant, and young men lodgers.	2	Tobacconist.	Lodgers are envelope makers.
	Top	1	2	(B)	Young couple.	Bootmaker.	Very poor.
		1	2	(B)	Man and wife.	Cement hawker.	Wife cleans offices. Work hard, and are steady, but very poor.
159	house & shop	6	(E)	Two brothers, sisters, an aunt, and nephew.	2	Baker's shop, kept by the brothers and sisters (all grown-up).	Support the aunt, aged 76. Trade going down.
161	house & shop	3	(F)	Man, wife, and child.		Greengrocer.	
163		1	7	(C)	Man, wife, and children.	5	Coster. Room is filled with man's stock. Also have a married daughter who comes to live here when husband is out of work, which is often.
		1	7	(D)	Man, wife, and children.	5	Post Office employée. Drink terribly.
		1	2	(D)	Man and wife.		Sugar boiler.
165							Empty.
167	lodging-house						Was a public-house.
169	common lodging-house						Rather low and bad. 4d and 6d a night.
171	small house & shop	4	(E)	Man, wife, and children.	2	Catsmeat shop.	
173	house & shop	5	(D)	Man, wife, and children,	3	Sell papers and toys.	Also have a mangle. Man getting old, and often ill.
		7	(D)	Man, wife, and children.	5	Carman.	Three children at work, and two at school. Rather bad lot.

*Bank Street.* This street consists entirely of large business premises, except a single row of small houses neatly kept, having doors and windows in good order, and the reverse side of the window shutters turned back against the wall smartly painted in two shades of green. Attractive-looking little houses containing, however, a great mixture of people.

No.	Rms.	Pers.		
1	5	(F)	Man, wife, and family.	Contractor. Good circumstances.
2	3	4	(B) Man, wife, and 2 children.	Clicker. Very slack. Wife has fits. Can't work.
	1	3	(D) Widower and 2 children.	Labourer.
	1	1	(B) Old lady lodger.	Used to keep dame's school. Very poor indeed. Often without food. Helped with her rent. Won't go to workhouse.
3	5	(F)	Man, wife, and family.	Foreman. Very comfortable.
4	2	5	(D) Man, wife, nephew, and two boys,	Carman. Regular work. Wife has bad health. Boys at work (vans). Nephew casual labour, now out of work.
first floor	2	(E)	Man and wife, no children.	Carman.
4½	4	(D)	Widow, 2 sons, and daughter.	Eldest son mends boots, working at home. All delicate.
	2		Some lodgers.	No particulars.
5	2	(D)	Widow and little girl.	General shop. Poor trade.
6	3	(A)	Three women.	A brothel.
7	2	(E)	Man and wife. No children.	Carman. Regular work. Wife earns about 3s.
	2	(B)	Man and wife (children dead).	Piano maker. Very feeble. Has been in an asylum. Does little. Wife does office cleaning. Helped by sister.
8		(E)	No particulars.	Gatekeeper } of business Caretaker } premises.
9, 10		(E)	No particulars.	
11	6	(B)	Man (60), young wife, and 4 children.	Horsekeeper. Ill health. Wife chars. Very poor.
first floor			Empty.	
	2	(E)	Young couple. No children.	Both work.
12			Coffee shop.	

*Meldrum Street.* This is one of a series of short streets which turn off an important main thoroughfare and connects a good-class neighbourhood with a small colony of poor and rough people. It is a quiet decent street—the best of the set—but the inhabitants of the part detailed below, which adjoins the main road, are probably slightly above the general level. The houses mostly have six rooms and are in good repair. Rent, rates, and taxes come to about £38 a year. There are 38 houses in Meldrum Street.

No.	Rms.		Pers.		
1A basement	1				Kitchen uninhabited.
ground & shop	2	3	(E)	Widow and her brother and son.	General shop, about 12s a week profit. Son a porter, earns 14s a week. Quiet and respectable.
first	2	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Foreman at a dairy; wages 30s. Rent 7s.
second	2	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Cabman, who owns his horse and cab, and pays 4s for a small stable at rear. Earns about 25s clear. Very respectable.
1 ground	2	2	(C)	Widow and daughter.	Monthly nurse, earns 10s week when in work. The daughter earns 4s to 5s week. Quiet and decent.
first	2	1	(F)	Single female.	Independent means.
second	2	2	(B)	Mother and blind son	Do mangling. Earn about 12s per week. Good character.
2 ground	2	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Labourer, irregular work. Wife does a little. Very indifferent.
first	2	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Casual painter. Averages about 16s.
second	2	2	(D)	Old couple.	Porter at Spiers and Pond. 18s a week. No family. Of good character.
house	6	5	(E)	Widow and 4 children.	Husband was a parish contractor, and has left his family comfortably provided for.

*Rousillon Road.* This is a long street of small houses, built on a narrow strip of land. With the exception of a few at each end of the road, the houses are double-fronted with a room on each side of the entrance, two others above, and a small kitchen at the back. The well-kept brickwork, painted porches and window frames, with their grained shutters, seem to indicate a comfortable population, but viewing the backs of the houses from a cross street, the dirtiness and untidiness are in contrast with the neatness of the front. Rents vary from 9s. to 10s.

No.	Rms.	Pers.			
1	ground	2	2	(B)	Widow and son.
					Widow chars, earns 4s or 5s. Boy (15) earns about 5s. Very poor but decent.
		2	2	(D)	Man and wife.
		2	2	(D)	Man and wife.
3		2	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.
					Boot rivetter, about 20s. Eldest child ten years, youngest a baby.
		1	3	(B)	Man, wife, and child
					Casual labourer; wife chars. Earn 15s to 16s between them.
		2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.
					Brush back maker. Slack lately; about 18s. Children under six years of age.
		1	1	(C)	Man.
					Hawks coke with barrow; about 10s or 12s.
5		3	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.
					Hempdresser; doing badly on account of the weather. A girl sixteen earns 4s 6d a week; a boy helps father. Poor. Clean people.
		1	2	(B)	Elderly couple.
					Very poor.
		2	2	(D)	Young couple.
					Labourer. Are new comers.
		2	2	(B)	Man and wife.
		3	2	(E)	Young couple.
					Casual labourer. Elderly. Seem comfortable.
9	first	2	8	(B)	Man, wife, and 6 children.
					Carman, regular, £1. Wife does a little washing. Children under twelve.
	ground	3	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children.
					Cork cutter. Boy fourteen, earns 4s.
		1	1	(B)	Widow.
					Charing. Recently lost her only boy by diphtheria.



No.		Rms. Pers.				
11		4	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Carman, regular, about 25s. Eldest (fourteen) is a nurse girl; earns 4s 6d. Very clean and respectable.
13		1	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Rather poor.
		2	3	(C)	Man, wife, and daughter.	French polisher, about 15s. Girl (15) earns 5s.
		1	2	(B)	Widow and young child.	Match-box maker, earns 6s or 7s. Young woman.
		1	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Labourer. Middle-aged people. Poor.
15	ground	3	7	(C)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Labourer, 16s to 18s. Eldest girl (12) excused school attendance. Man used to keep a greengrocer's shop.
	first	2	3	(C)	Man, wife, and young child.	Painter, irregular; wife does a little washing.
17	ground	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Casual carman, earns 15s or 16s. Wife does a little charing; earns about 4s. Children at school.
19		1	2	(B)	Old couple.	Casual carman.
		1	2	(D)	Young couple.	Labourer.
	ground	3	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Regular carman, 23s. Eldest girl (15) has a diseased spine. Poor.
		1	6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Splint cutter; regular, but low pay. Wife has just returned from hospital. Eldest child is twelve.
		1	2	(B)	Widow and daughter.	Sell boot laces and felt socks for boots in the streets. The mother has a regular stand. Make about 6s a week between them. Girl is fourteen.
21	ground	3	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Railway porter, 23s. Eldest child (7) is adopted.
		1	2	(B)	Elderly couple.	Labourer. Very poor.
		1	2	(B)	Elderly couple.	Very poor.
23	ground	3	3	(D)	Man, wife, and boy.	Pipe maker. Mother and boy (14) help father. Rather poor.
	first	2	2	(D)	Middle-aged couple.	Poor.

*Marshall Passage.* This place and the neighbouring streets consist of a medley of new buildings and ruinous old houses in juxtaposition, and clearances where, though the old order has passed away, the new has not yet occupied its place. The passage is a flagged court about 18 feet wide with posts at each end to keep vehicles out. The houses vary greatly in style and appearance, and the shops dotted here and there are equally various, ranging from the low many-paned window of an old wooden house to the single sheet of plate glass of modern times. All, however, alike cater for the immediate wants of the district. With some of the houses the street door is reached by two steps which project into the footway as far as the wooden portico juts out above the entrance. Above, the red tiled roofs, broken by dormer windows, slope down to the front with pretty effect. Most of the houses contain five or six rooms, and rents vary from 10s. to 12s. per week where there is no shop.

No.		Rms.		Pers.		
1						Pulled down.
3	ground	2	3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Lighterman. About 25s.
		4	1	(E)	Widow.	Mother of lighterman. Goes out nursing. Comfortable.
5	house	5 & shop	6	(F)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Greengrocer ; well-to-do. Children under seven years.
7		3 & shop	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Grocer. Comfortable.
	first	2	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Out of work four months. Friends assist. Averages about 10s by casual work.
9	house	5 & shop	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Butcher.
11		4	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Lockman. Regular. About 30s. Children under 12. Rent 8s 6d. Just manage.
		1	4	(C)	Man, wife, and 2 young children.	Stevedore. Casual work. About 18s.
13		4	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Lighterman. About 30s. Children under 10.
		1	3	(E)	Man, wife, and infant.	Carman ; regular. 24s. Rent, 2s 6d.

No. 15		Rms. 4	Pers. 2	(E)	Man and wife.	Lighterman; about 25s. Lets the house. Own rent about 4s.
		1				Just let.
		1	3	(B)	Man, wife, and baby.	Casual labourer; about 12s.
17	house	5	4	(F)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Bootmaker and Insur- ance Agent; about £2. Girl (15) looks after house. Boy (13) at school.
19	house	5	6	(E)	Widower, 3 sons, and 2 daughters.	Too old for work. Eldest son (30), carman, 22s.; second, druggist's as- sistant; about 16s. third, labourer, 10s. or 12s. Daughter (19) keeps house; younger girl in a general shop; sleeps at home.
21		4 and shop	6	(F)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Beerhouse; clears about 30s. Two children at school; son at prin- ter's, 10s.; daughter (18) helps at home.
		1	1	(B)	Single man.	Dock labourer, about 8s. Over 50 years old; miserably poor.
23	house	4 and shop	2	(G)	Man and wife.	No children. Have a house on other side of the place.
25		2	2	(B)	Man and wife.	Dock labourer, averages 10s. Rents the house.
		1	1	(B)	Widow.	Works at St. Bartholo- mew's Hospital. Odd jobs. Rent 1s. 6d.
		1	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Casual labourer, about 12s. Children under 7.
		1	3	(D)	Man, wife, and son.	Empty.
						Waterman; about £1. Son (19), casual work at wharves; about 10s. Rent 3s.
27	house shop	5	6	(E)	Man, wife, 3 children, and wife's mother.	Fried fish shop. Chil- dren under 7. Com- fortable.
29		2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Labourer, averages 16s. Daughter (17) is a cigar- maker; boy earns 5s., and 1 child at school
		1	5	(B)	Widow and 4 child- ren.	Chars at the Infirmary regular. Rent 2s.
		3	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 young children.	Labourer; about 18s. Lets the house; prac- tically lives rent free.

*Flatter Street.* Entered by a narrow passage from the main road, this street widens out immediately. The houses are of various sorts and different ages. The oldest are small two-storeyed houses, flush with the pavement; they look as if they belonged originally to a court out of the high road; but the court has been lengthened and widened, and dignified with the name of a street. Beyond these houses are some others, with three floors rising from a half basement. On this side the houses have a poor look. The blinds closely drawn or only raised as high as the top of the curtain publish the poverty they are intended to hide. On the opposite side the houses are much more modern and with bay windows, and their well-kept fronts with plants and long curtains form a decided contrast to the older tenements.

Proceeding down the street, the well-built schools and vicarage are seen beyond the railway which crosses here. Situate in the same district as Cardinal Street, the same murkiness pervades the place.

Nos. 1 to 15 are alike; each contains 4 rooms and a scullery at the back.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
1	house	4	5	(F)	Man, wife, and 3 or 4 grown-up children.	Bootmaker. Children at work. Comfortable.
2	house	4	5	(F)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Sole-sewer in a small way. Employs his family. Fairly comfortable.
3						Empty.
4	ground	2	4	(D)	Widower, two boys, and a girl.	Caretaker of recreation ground. One boy in the boot trade; girl attends to the home. Man earns about £1.
	first	2	4	(B)	Man, wife, and 2 girls.	Horse-keeper, casual. Sweeps a crossing sometimes. Wife is lame. One girl is learning a business; the other at school. Very poor.
5	house	4	9	(F)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Piano case maker; does very well; at least £2 2s. Three children at school; others too young.

The six houses following have six rooms and a scullery; three floors with two rooms on each.



No.		Rms.	Pers.			
16	ground & first	4	3	(F)	Man, wife, and child.	Boot - finisher. Good-class man. Comfortable.
17	second	2	2		Man and wife.	No particulars.
		4	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Carpenter. Regular. Decent man. Wife has a sharp tongue. Two children at school.
18	second	2	2		Young men.	Lodgers.
		4	1	(E)	Single woman.	Dressmaker. Uses rooms for business.
19	second	2	2	(D)	Old couple.	
		4	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Carpenter. Regular. Children at school. Comfortable.
	second	2	2	(D)	Young married couple.	Bootmaker. Think wife works.
20	house	6	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Picture - frame gilder. Fairly comfortable. Four children at school.
21	house	6	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Bootmaker. Small master. Employs two men.
22	house	6	6	(F)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Bootmaker. Small master. One child at school, others help father.
23	house	6	5	(F)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Cabinet - maker. Employs four or five hands. Children are grown up. Lad works with father, and two girls at home. Fairly comfortable. Man makes about £200 a year.
Here is the Board school.						
teach-ers' house	house	about 5	8	(G)	Man, wife, 2 sons, and servant.	Pianoforte-maker. Wife is head schoolmistress. Sons are assistant masters under the L.S.B. Keep servant.
vicar-age	house	about 8		(H)	Clergyman, wife, a large family, and 2 servants.	Here is the church and school buildings. Middle-class school. Good.
24	house	6	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Sexton. Police pensioner ; has 12s. a week from the church. Lets furnished apartments.
26	'	4	10	(E)	Man, wife, and 8 children.	Mathematical instrument maker ; regular work. Boy goes to work ; 4 children at school ; 3 too young.
	first	2	3	(E)	Man, wife, and child.	Clerk, about 30s. Child at school.

## STREETS COLOURED PINK.

The examples which follow are not satisfactory or sufficient. The sources of information from systematic visiting apply more fully to poor streets, and it was with regard to the poorer streets that we chiefly sought information.

Chesterfield Street, which is described at length, is in truth so much mixed that it might be coloured purple. Mutimer Street amongst the purple examples is better off. Mutimer Street we originally had as pink, and the details were gone into because the vicar of the parish thought our view of it incorrect. We altered the colour, but the street lies on the line, and might very well be placed in either category.

Some admixture of poverty is found very frequently in the pink streets ; our figures show it ; but on the average it will be less than the following examples show, and in whole districts, where the general conditions approach those of middle class life, little or none will be found.

## CHESTERFIELD STREET.

This street has a pleasant look. Most of the houses on the sunniest side have creepers hanging from them, and the wide areas make light basements. The windows are well kept. They contain a few business cards, one of a shirt and collar dresser promising "highly polished work." There are few signs of poverty. Only one side of the street is detailed below, but this side gives a fair picture of the whole. The people are poorer at the end most remote from the main street. The houses have a frontage of 15 feet.

Nos. 1 and 2. Just built, and only one family come in.

No. 3. Occupied by two Scotchmen and their wives, each having also one child. They came up to London together,

employed upon the same piece of work. There are four rooms in the house.

No. 4 is occupied by Burgess, a printer, who is old and suffers from paralysis. His wife keeps him by taking in washing. This is his second wife; the first family has grown up. Four rooms.

No. 5 is occupied by Barton, a policeman, with wife and four or five children, the eldest being about seven. The wife's mother lives with them and sells milk, carrying it out. Mrs. Barton did this also before her marriage.

No. 6. In one room of this house an old couple live, Roman Catholics, who in their younger days kept a greengrocer's shop in this street. The man now works as a carman. An old woman, too old to work, and a son, who keeps her, live in two rooms; while a poor widow, a needlewoman, has the fourth.

No. 7 is a larger house, having six rooms and two attics. A woman named Baker kept the house during her husband's life, and still retains it. She has six children, three of whom go to work and are her main support. Knowles, a saddler with wife and three little children, has two rooms. He has slack work in certain seasons, and is probably poor. A back room is occupied by an old man, a Roman Catholic, who receives a little parish relief. He has a son who used to live here, but has left.

No. 8 is occupied by a printer, who earns good money, but both he and his wife are too fond of drink. They have five children—one son a pupil teacher, a daughter in service, and three others at school. Would be very comfortable but for the drink; are able to accommodate two lodgers, but they have been unsatisfactory, continually changing.

No. 9. Partly occupied by Barnes, a man who is employed in the City. His wife used to take shirt and collar dressing, as the man did not do much, but she has given it up now. There are three children, two at school and a baby. Two rooms in this house are occupied by a man working at the saw mills. The wife in this case used to work for some time after her marriage; she is now employed with two little children. In another room lives Mrs. Park, a widow, who does washing, but mainly lives on charity.

No. 10 is occupied by a very respectable family. The man has regular work at the saw mills; has had difficulties, owing to illness. His wife is subject to fits. They have one girl at service and five younger children, three being at school and two mere babies. For lodgers they have a man, wife, and baby. No information as to the man's employment. They are not poor.

No. 12 is occupied by Parker, a sign writer in good work, with wife and five children, besides one at service, who has taken a place "to give her something to do." The other children are all at school except the baby. This family is very comfortably off.

No. 13 is occupied by a woman who used to be a laundress, but is now too old to work; she has a daughter who takes in machine work, and a son at sea who helps when he comes home. In the same house there lives a married daughter, whose husband is a seaman, with two children, babies. These people are comfortable—never in want. Thrifty sort of people.

No. 14. The man who lives here has a good situation in which he has been all his life. He has married twice; the children by his first wife are all dead. A son and daughter by the second wife live here, and both find work at the factory where their father is employed. Very comfortable people. They let two rooms to a widow and son (of 20). The woman is paralysed and kept by her son, who is a labourer. They are poor.

No. 15. The man here works in the City. He has a wife and one daughter, who is a stewardess; another daughter died. They are very comfortable. Take no lodgers.

No. 16 is occupied by a widower, a shoemaker, who used to be very poor and struggling while living in one of the side streets. He is doing better since he came here. He has three children at school, the eldest girl for half time only. They are poor; they let the first floor to a man working at the saw mills with wife and one child. Comfortable people. There may be other lodgers.

No. 17 is kept by a widow who tries to let furnished apartments. She is too easy, and her lodgers leave her in debt. She has a hard struggle. There are sons who go to sea. She might be comfortable if they were steady, but they are not good to her.



No. 18 is occupied by a respectable family, man, wife, and three children going to school. They are new-comers. They have as lodgers on the first floor an old sailor, who no longer goes to sea, but is kept by his wife, who does dressmaking and has a struggle. The man used to drink.

No. 19 is boarded up, and Nos. 20 and 21 are pulled down. From No. 22 the people have been turned out and have gone to No. 32.

No. 23, a house with four rooms and washhouse (which pattern is now maintained up to No. 32), is occupied in two rooms by a seaman and sailmaker, with wife and three children. He works at his trade half the year, and goes to sea the other half. Is sometimes badly off. Two of the children go to school, and the other is partially paralysed. In the other two rooms live a newly-married couple; the girl goes out to work, as she did before marriage.

No. 24. Occupied by a widow and her brother. She is forewoman at a factory, and he works at the same place. The widow has a son and daughter. The son works out, the daughter minds the house.

No. 25. Here live a man and his sons, who are woodchoppers, working together. The wife drinks, and the men keep the money out of her hands. A deplorable family. With them lives a married daughter, whose husband helps also in the wood-chopping, which is done at a yard at the end of the street. There are two little children. They probably all live as one family. There is plenty to eat.

No. 26 is occupied by two families, the men being cousins. One has wife and two children, the other wife and four children. The men work together on the river. At times, when work is slack, they are glad to have soup tickets.

No. 27. The man here works at a brewery. His wife is a thrifty woman. There are two daughters and a son at work, and three smaller children at school. They are never in want, except through illness. They used to have their mother and sister lodging here, but keep the house now.

No. 28 is occupied by a carman in regular work, with wife

and five small children, three at school. This family are often poor. The man was out of employment through drink a short time ago, and then they were very poor. They have one young man lodger, and could take in another.

No. 29. Man, wife, and a baby live here; comfortable people. They have as lodger an old man in receipt of out relief. He is a tailor, and used once to rent the house.

No. 30 is occupied by a policeman. There are two daughters at work, and they would be comfortable but that the wife drinks. In the upper rooms live a man and wife without children. He works at the flour mills, and his wife is sister to the policeman's wife. The wife does a little work, and they are comfortable.

No. 31. The man here also works at the flour mills. His wife is a thrifty little woman. They have six children, one boy just gone to work, four at school. Striving people, not poor. They have as lodgers a man, with wife and two little children.

No. 32. This is a shop, with three rooms and ante-room. The man was an engineer, and, getting old, has taken this shop. He has a married daughter, and also two sons, who help to keep their father and mother. These people are comfortably off.

Nos. 33 and 34 are being rebuilt.

No. 35 is occupied by a lighterman, who would be comfortable but for drink. All the children are grown up. Two are in service, and the others married. As lodgers, they have a young couple with a baby. The man works at Billingsgate, and earns 14s a week. The wife is ill through want.

No. 36 is occupied by a waterside labourer. His wife did mangling, but has given it up since two of the children go to work. There are two others at school and a baby. They lost two children about six months ago. As lodgers they have a lame old woman and her daughter. The daughter works at wood-chopping, and supports her mother. They have no charitable assistance, but are helped by a married daughter who lives on the other side of the street. Are poor.

No. 37. The man here works at the flour mills. A daughter

of about twenty-five, formerly in service, keeps the house since her mother's death. There is a son who was a gentleman's servant, but now works with his father, both men having regular work. They are comfortably off. In two of their rooms an annt stores her furnitnre. She does not live here, but comes to dinner on Sunday.

*Nos. 38 and 39* are missing, being the site of a chapel.

*No. 40* is a public-house, which has lately changed hands. It has been a disreputable place.

*No. 41* is occupied by two brothers—seamen—one of whom is married. Their sister also lives here, and the two women go to work in the City. Their mother used to live here, but has gone into the counntry. These are respectable and comfortable people.

*No. 42* is occupied by a man who works at the rope-ground. His wife is a good manager, and needs to be, having eight children. The three eldest go to work, four go to school, and there is a baby. This family is poor. They let lodgings to a family, who occupy two rooms.

*No. 43* is occupied by a man who has regular work at the Docks. His wife does not work. They have four children at school. The eldest will soon be leaving. For lodgers they have a man in bad health, with wife and three children. The wife earns what she can mnrnsing. Very poor people.

*No. 44.* The people here are Roman Catholics. Man, wife, and three children, two being boys at work. They have lately lost two little children. An old woman, the mother of the man or his wife, lives with them. They are helped from the chapel.

*No. 45* is a small shop displaying its goods in an ordinary window. The family consists of man, wife, and two or three children. They just make ends meet.

*Nos. 46 and 47* not finished, being rebuilt.

*No. 48* is occupied by a seaman often out of work. His wife takes in machine work (shirts). Two girls have just gone into situations. There is a deaf and dnmb son in a home and three younger children, two at school. These people are very poor. They had an old lodger, who has gone.



*Martin Street.* This street is a *cul-de-sac*, and an example of the quiet respectability which is sometimes to be found where there is no thoroughfare. The houses, of two storeys, are small and well cared for. Creepers hang on many of them on both sides of the way, so that in summer the street must be quite pretty. The windows are filled with plants, behind which fall good curtains, and what can be seen of the interior bespeaks comfort. A few of the houses have front door bells, and all have neat knockers. The particulars given of the inhabitants are but scanty. It may, however, be safely assumed that the unknown are fully as well off as the known.

4-roomed houses with scullery and small room over.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
1	4 rooms	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and some children.	Comfortable.
		2	2	(D)	Man and wife (no children known).	Man in regular work; about 21s a week. Respectable people.
		1	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Man earning over 20s.
3	4 rooms	3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and young children.	Comfortable and respectable.
		2	6	(B)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	In chronic want.
5		5	5	(E)	Man, wife, and some children.	Pretty comfortable.
7		3	6	(E)	Man, wife, and some children.	Man earning about 30s. Wife and children working. Comfortable.
		2	2	(E)	Man and wife (no children seen).	Comfortable. These two families are related.
9		4	5	(E)	Man and wife and grown-up sons and daughters.	Seem a bad lot. Drink.
		1	1	(B)	Old woman.	Charing. Earns about 7s a week. Poor.
11		3	6	(E)	Man, wife, and four children.	Comfortable.
		1	1	(D)	Widow.	Poor.
		1	1	(D)	Single woman.	Poor.
13		5	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Very tidy and clean.
15		1	1	(B)	Old man.	Out of work. Very poor. Probably has relief.
		2	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Earns 20s a week.
		2			Unknown	
17					Two families.	No particulars.
19					Unknown.	
21	house	5	9	(D)	Man, wife, and 7 young children.	Regular work. Wife does nursing. Always poor.



No.		Rms. Pers.				
23		3	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	In work. Had some help last winter once.
	upstairs	2	2		Man, and wife, may be some children.	No particulars.
25		4	2	(E)	Widow and grown-up daughter.	Husband who died some months since was earning 28s a week. Daughter is a pupil teacher. Quite comfortable.
	upstairs	1	1	(D)	Old woman.	Living alone. Poor.
27		3	2	(E)	Man and wife. Don't know any children.	Family respectable. Not poor.
	upstairs	2			Another family.	No particulars.
92		2	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Poor, but not in want.
		2	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Stonemason, regular work now; was out of work and helped.
		1	1	(E)	Single woman.	A nurse engaged in rescue work. Comfortable.
31		3	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	House dirty and miserable.
		2	2		Man and wife.	No particulars.
33		3	3		Man, wife, and 1 child.	No particulars.
	upstairs	2	3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Just manage to do comfortably.
35		3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Not poor.
	upstairs	2			Another family.	No particulars.
37		3	6		Man, wife, and several children.	No particulars.
		2			Another family.	No particulars.
39		2	6	(D)	Man, wife, and several children.	Earns about 22s. Enough to live on, but poor.
	back parlour	1	1	(D)	An old actor.	Poor.
	back room	1	6	(D)	Man, wife, and children.	Distinctly poor.
	upstairs	1	2	(B)	Man and wife. No children.	A cripple out of work. In a wretched state.
41		3	2	(D)	Widow and daughter.	Do washing. Poor but just manage.
	upstairs	1	1	(B)	Old woman.	Parish relief.
	upstairs	1	1	(B)	Another old woman.	Very poor.
43		3	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Blind. Has pension. Wife washes, but is getting too old for it. Just manage. Poor.
		2			Another family.	No particulars.
45				(E)	Two families.	Both seem comfortable.

*Weaver Street.* Although shadowed and shaken by the railway which has cut across and overhangs the roadway, Weaver Street has still an air of comfort. The fronts of the houses are in good order, with bright windows and sightly curtains: doors and windows are well painted: brass knobs and numbers, and in some cases brass knockers, brightly polished. This satisfactory appearance is not maintained without the signs of the effort needed to eke out spare incomes. Many of the parlour windows have cards in them. One indicates "mangling done here"; another more ambitious bears the legend "piano taught"; while several announce the letting of rooms in various styles of pretension from "apartments for a gentleman," down to "lodgings for a single man." Situated near the station, this street is used as a short-cut for foot-passengers, and can therefore lay itself out with special advantage for the letting of furnished lodgings. The houses are two storeys only, but are 15 ft. in frontage. The first floor windows are fitted with iron balconies.

Houses all alike—basement and two floors—six rooms.

No.	Rms.	Pers.		
1	3	(E)	Widow and 2 grown daughters.	Laundry work, at which all help. Comfortably off, but has a struggle for it.
	3	(E)	3 or 4 young men.	Mechanics or clerks.
2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 young children.	Foreman railway porter. Comfortable. Nicely furnished.
	2	(E)	Two young men.	Mechanic and station porter.
3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 little children.	Guard on railway. Comfortable.
	2	(E)	One or 2 young men.	
4	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Porter on railway. Nice people; just comfortably off.
upstairs	2	(F)	Man and wife; no children.	Mechanic. Wife employs a number of young hands at dress-making. Comfortable.
5-19			Pulled down by railway.	
21	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 young children.	Mechanic.
	2	(E)	Some young men.	
	1	4	(E) Man, wife, and 2 little children.	Brewer's labourer. Regular work.
22	5	(F)	Man, wife, and family	Respectable and quiet people. No lodgers.

No. 30		Rms. 4	Pers. 2	(F)	Man and wife; no children.	Railway clerk. Comfortable. Occupy 4 rooms.
		1	2	(B)	Man and wife; elderly	Labourer. Irregular work. Man had an accident and gives way to drink. Very poor.
31		2	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 young children.	Labourer. Poor.
		1	1	(B)	Old widow.	Does charing and has parish relief.
		2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Porter on railway. Invalid wife. Has a struggle.
		1	6	(B)	Widow and 5 or 6 young children.	Does washing. Husband was a farmer. Very poor.
32	ground	1	1	(D)	Widow.	Mangling.
	ground	1	3	(D)	Widow and 2 children.	Dressmaker. A young woman. Poor, but decent.
	first floor	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Waiter (Swiss). In regular hotel work.
33	kitchen	1	1	(D)	Old man.	Lives by letting this house. A poor old man, used to be a builder. Wife just dead.
	ground	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 small children.	Mechanic in regular work. Respectable.
	first floor	2	5	(F)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Jobbing builder. Fair amount of work.
34		4	1	(F)	Single woman.	House of accommodation.
35		3	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Mechanic. Middle-aged people.
		1	1	(E)	Young man.	
36		2	5	(F)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Waiter (German). Good employment.
		2	2	(E)	Young men.	Waiters, &c.
37		3	6	(F)	Man, wife, and 4 young children.	Electrician. A young couple.
		1	1	(E)	Young man.	
38		2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Brewer's labourer. Regular work. Children above school age. One boy at work. Girls help mother. They take lodgers. House nicely furnished.
		2	2	(F)	Young men.	

*Cherry Street.* A quiet respectable street. leading out from another which is equally respectable. Little two-storeyed houses with stuccoed windows and doorways; each having a small front garden. The houses contain six rooms, and let at £28 and £30 a year. They are much alike in appearance; each with its long curtains, sufficiently apart to permit the pedestrian to see the flower or fern, which stands just inside the window. The decorator's house is the exception; he has painted the whole of the front, which with a bright brass plate on the door gives him a good advertisement. Everything looks neat, and an air of decorous respectability pervades the place.

No.		Rms.	Pers.			
1	house	6	4	(F)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Stationer's assistant. Over £2. Daughter being trained for pupil teacher. One child at school. Comfortable.
2	house	6	2	(F)	Old couple.	Been here a long time. Very comfortable.
3	house	6	2	(F)	Old couple.	Been here a long time.
4	ground	3	3	(F)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Warehouseman. Comfortable.
	first	3	2	(F)	Man and wife.	
5	ground	3	4	(F)	Man, wife, and 2 babies.	Small master builder.
	first	3	2	(F)	Young married couple.	Comfortably off.
6		4	5	(F)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Saddle tree maker. Son (17) in harness trade. Two children at school. Comfortable.
	first	2	2	(E)	Young married couple.	Comfortable.
7	house	6	7	(F)	Man, wife, 4 children, and lodger.	Clerk. One child at school; others too young. Let a furnished room.
8	house	6	6	(F)	Man, wife, 3 children, and lodger.	Tailor's cutter. Two children at school. Let a furnished room. Comfortable.
9		4	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Foreman at glass works.
	first	2	2	(D)	Widow and daughter.	Woman goes out nursing. Child at school. Has two children in an orphanage. Poor, but decent woman.



10	house	6	4	(F)	Man, wife, and grown-up children.	Metal dealer. Does a fair business. Has a place at the side. Seems comfortable.
11	house and shop	5	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Keeps a grocer's shop. Fair living.
12	house	6	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Master decorator. Small man. Comfortable.
13	ground	3	6	(E)	Man, wife and 4 children.	Cardboard box maker, regular. Two children at school. Not so well off as most of the people.
	first	3	4	(F)	Man, wife and two young children.	Clerk. One at school. Comfortable.
14	ground	3	1	(F)	Widow.	Has house property.
	first	3	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Clerk.
15		4	4	(F)	Man, wife and 2 children.	Carman on own account. Children at school.
	first	2	2		Man and wife.	No particulars.
16	ground	3	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Bookseller.
	first	3	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Stonemason.
17	house	6	4	(F)	Man, wife and 2 daughters.	Traveller. One daughter is assistant teacher, the other helps at home.
18	ground	3	4	(E)	Man, wife and 2 children.	Tobacco dryer. Children at school.
	first	3	5	(F)	Man, wife and 3 children.	Traveller, about £2. Two children at school.

The tables which follow summarize the sample streets colour by colour (omitting the black streets which are beyond such arithmetical treatment). In these tables the streets are arranged according to the proportion found in them of classes A and B, plus half of C and D. This plan seems to yield the most trustworthy order of poverty.

Names.	A.	B.	Per cent.	C.	D.	Per cent.	E.	F.	Per cent.	Population.
Little Tarlton Street. . . . .	58	137	71	41	30	26	8	—	3	274
Cleveland Terrace . . . . .	10	60	61	26	18	38	2	—	1	116
Burdock Road . . . . .	16	81	66	2	34	24	15	—	10	148
Rydal Street . . . . .	13	108	63	25	19	23	19	8	14	192
Flint Street . . . . .	28	50	26	98	78	60	38	5	14	297
Total dark blue with black line	125	436	55	192	179	37	82	13	8	1,027
Moreton Place . . . . .	10	84	53	51	33	47	—	—	—	178
Short's Place . . . . .	—	165	58	85	17	35	19	—	7	286
Henley Street . . . . .	7	129	52	86	32	46	6	—	2	260
Sunnyside Terrace . . . . .	—	184	51	113	38	43	23	—	6	358
Golden Place . . . . .	13	87	40	35	103	57	8	—	3	246
Thanksgiving Place . . . . .	—	15	—	9	2	—	—	—	—	26
Stocking Yard . . . . .	6	10	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	20
Assembly Court . . . . .	—	25	—	19	11	—	2	—	—	57
Bear Alley . . . . .	—	3	—	10	—	—	25	6	12	13
Assembly Street . . . . .	—	33	—	3	11	—	7	—	—	60
Manor Gardens . . . . .	—	8	—	38	34	—	12	—	—	92
Summer Gardens . . . . .	1	167	50	61	25	25	82	4	25	340
Marshall Street . . . . .	—	60	46	12	30	33	27	—	21	129
Latin Place, South . . . . .	—	32	—	—	2	—	8	—	—	42
Greek Row . . . . .	3	22	—	50	47	39	47	—	19	63
Sun and Moon Courts . . . . .	—	8	—	14	12	—	20	—	—	58
Tabernacle Yard . . . . .	—	40	—	9	29	—	8	—	—	86
Island Street . . . . .	4	73	39	38	42	40	43	—	21	200
Minton Place . . . . .	3	83	27	76	120	—	34	—	11	316
Rupert Place . . . . .	—	77	30	72	50	48	59	—	22	258
Lady Street . . . . .	—	66	36	22	43	36	40	12	28	183
Total dark blue . . . . .	47	1,371	43	780	638	44	413	22	13	3,271

Name.	A.	B.	Per cent.	C.	D.	Per cent.	E.	F.	Per cent.	Population.
Ginger Street . . . . .	—	35	36	35	18	55	9	—	9	97
Durham and Lincoln Gardens	—	34	35	—	50	52	12	—	13	96
Palmer's Place . . . . .	—	37	30	6	61	55	18	—	15	122
Havelock Street . . . . .	—	107	36	39	83	42	31	35	22	295
Headley Street . . . . .	9	102	37	68	48	39	40	31	24	298
Orchard Lane . . . . .	7	30	51	29	139	11	92	83	38	830
Tangley Street . . . . .	13	57	29	41	68	48	44	11	23	234
Hart Street . . . . .	1	43	24	80	20	54	88	4	22	186
Calliostro Street . . . . .	5	6	14	39	16	70	12	—	16	78
Cardinal Street . . . . .	—	89	14	68	108	65	48	10	21	273
Ding Dong Lane . . . . .	—	83	29	18	24	36	36	4	35	115
Violet Place . . . . .	—	18	26	8	12	41	16	—	33	49
Bradley Street, &c. . . . .	—	48	13	72	166	64	79	6	23	371
Little Merton Street . . . . .	9	15	32	—	19	25	27	5	43	75
Field Walk . . . . .	—	14	12	31	35	58	32	3	30	115
Ancoats Street . . . . .	—	28	16	14	48	35	85	—	49	175
Braden Place . . . . .	—	6	18	9	1	29	5	—	53	34
Bradford Street . . . . .	—	4	2	57	52	51	75	13	47	212
Clarence Square . . . . .	—	9	6	12	31	31	74	15	63	141
Marsh Row . . . . .	—	—	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	16
Total light blue . . . . .	44	660	21	626	1015	50	773	194	29	3312

The distinction between the colours is very well marked and if we could have brought the samples of "black" into comparison, there would certainly have been as wide a difference between them and the "blue-black" as is shown above to exist between these and the "dark blue," or between dark blue and light blue, or as the succeeding tables show between light blue and purple and between purple and the samples (unsatisfactory though they be) of pink.

*(Purple and Pink.)**Summary of Sample Streets (continued).*

Name.	A.	B.	Per cent.	C.	D.	Per cent.	E.	F.	Per cent.	Population.
Peel Street . . . . .	—	41	33	7	46	43	30	—	24	124
Back Park Row . . . . .	—	37	27	4	58	46	31	6	27	136
Bank Street . . . . .	3	13	35	—	14	30	6	10	35	46
Gordon Road . . . . .	—	47	21	48	53	45	42	33	34	223
Norman Passage . . . . .	—	41	24	3	60	37	66	—	29	170
Roussillon Road . . . . .	—	41	15	74	82	55	53	32	30	282
Marshall Passage . . . . .	—	105	30	44	44	25	105	51	45	349
Tramp Road . . . . .	—	8	19	13	5	43	11	5	38	42
Patriot Street . . . . .	—	11	7	38	53	59	47	6	34	155
Ross Street . . . . .	—	16	10	28	56	54	57	—	36	157
Upwell Road . . . . .	—	66	16	58	107	39	120	65	45	416
Avon Road . . . . .	—	5	4	22	48	59	40	3	37	118
Carver Street . . . . .	—	61	14	93	62	37	196	8	49	420
Mutimer Street . . . . .	—	15	7	26	86	49	80	21	44	228
Major Road, &c. . . . .	—	8	7	12	35	44	36	16	49	107
Turner Road . . . . .	—	11	7	25	47	42	82	7	51	172
Cutters' Row . . . . .	—	6	7	10	16	31	36	15	62	83
Meldrum Street . . . . .	—	3	4	18	6	34	31	13	62	71
Shakespear Place . . . . .	—	—	—	16	18	39	46	8	61	88
Flatter Street . . . . .	—	8	4	23	23	23	75	71	73	200
Total Purple . . . . .	3	543	15	562	919	42	1190	370	43	3587
Chesterfield Street . . . . .	—	19	7	61	55	41	143	7	52	285
Martin Street . . . . .	—	18	9	6	49	28	117	5	63	195
Weaver Street . . . . .	—	10	8	6	10	12	55	51	80	132
Cherry Street . . . . .	—	—	—	—	2	2	12	81	98	95
Total Pink . . . . .	—	47	6	73	116	27	327	144	67	707



# *Classification of Inhabitants of Selected Streets.—Summary.*

	A.		B.		C.		D.		E.		F.		Total.	
	Nos.	Per cent.	Nos.	Per cent.	Nos.	Per cent.	Nos.	Per cent.	Nos.	Per cent.	Nos.	Per cent.	Popula- tion.	Per cent. of Poverty.
Dark blue and black.	125	12	436	43	192	19	179	18	82	7	13	1	1,027	92
Dark blue . . . .	47	1	1,371	42	780	24	638	20	413	12	22	1	3,271	87
Light blue . . . .	44	1	660	20	626	19	1,015	31	773	23	194	6	3,312	71
Purple . . . . .	3	—	543	15	562	16	919	26	1,170	33	390	10	3,587	57
Pink . . . . .	—	—	47	6	73	10	116	17	327	46	144	21	707	33
	219	—	3,057	—	2,233	—	2,867	—	2,765	—	763	—	11,904	—

An application of these percentages to the total figures for the different coloured streets seems to show (though the calculation is a rough one), that the selected sample is rather poorer than the bulk.

Those who may study closely the particulars of the sample streets will find that the colours overlap each other a little, and this is shown very clearly in the summary tables just given. There are one or two blue streets which might have been purple, and *vice versâ*, whilst in at least one instance an exchange should have been made between purple and pink to make description and colour tally exactly. These cases, however, are exceptional, and do not affect the general results.\* Absolute agreement between the accounts given by the School Board visitors and by the clergy was not to be expected, considering that entirely different methods were employed, and that an interval, extending in some cases to three or four years, had elapsed between the first inquiry and its revision.

It should also be said that those who gave the information did not know what use would be made of it, nor were they asked to decide in what class each family should be placed. The accounts of each street and its inhabitants were noted with "running pen"; and the result is a very vivid picture, without doubt honestly drawn, and I believe true, but perhaps hardly fit for statistical analysis. The method of analysis, as well as the value of the picture itself, lies open to the judgment of the reader.

The tables already given state the proportions of each class found in the streets of each colour. In those which follow an attempt is made to show, with regard to the total numbers of each class under review, how many there are whose poverty is connected with (1) widowhood, (2) sickness, (3) old age, (4) habits of intemperance, (5 and 6) irregularity or

\* If the figures for the whole 66 sample streets, from dark blue mixed with black to purple, be taken together, the two methods yield practically the same results. The School Board visitors' figures give 29 per cent. A and B, 44 per cent. C and D, and 27 per cent. E and F, while the district visitors' reports come out, 26 per cent. A and B, 45 per cent. C and D, and 29 per cent. E and F. So close an agreement is more than could be expected. It will be observed that the degree of poverty noted is on the whole rather less from the second point of view.

want of work. The tables further state the proportion of each class in the sample streets who are blessed or cursed with many children; and finally, they show the number of rooms occupied and what share of a room each person has.\*

Class.	Total Nos.	Widows and their children.		Old People (over 60).		Cases of Sickness.		Habits of Intemperance.	
		Nos.	Per cent.	Nos.	Per cent.	Nos.	Per cent.	Nos.	Per cent.
A	219	—	—	—	—	—	—	44	20
B	3,057	544	18	142	5	398	13	297	10
C	2,233	133	6	16	1	126	6	243	11
D	2,867	318	11	121	4	64	2	130	5
E	2,755	94	3	98	4	46	2	119	4
F	763	18	2	24	3	4	1	2	—
	11,894	1,107	—	401	—	638	—	835	—

It will be seen that widowhood is found most in B and next in D, old age also most in B, but not much less in D or E. Habits of intemperance which are noted down for 20 per cent. of class A, stand at 10 and 11 per cent. for B and C, and fall to 5 and 4 per cent. for D and E, while cases of sickness show a uniformly decreasing ratio from B to F, except that D and E are bracketed at 2 per cent.

Class.	Total Nos.	Irregular work.		No work.		Large Families (6 children and over.)		
		Nos.	Per cent.	Nos.	Per cent.	Families	Total persons.	Avg.No. in family
A	219	18	8	95	43	4	36	9.0
B	3,057	820	27	403	13	79	675	8.5
C	2,233	666	30	111	—	30	258	8.6
D	2,867	123	4	18	1	42	383	9.0
E	2,755	38	1	24	1	26	225	8.7
F	763	—	—	—	—	5	43	8.6
	11,894	1,665	—	651	—	186	1,620	8.7

It is noteworthy that it is only in class A that a large proportion are shown without any work. These are those who will not work. The 13 per cent. in class B are the unfortunates who either cannot work or cannot get work. Irregularity of work is, as might be expected, found mostly (and about equally) in classes B and C. Large families preponderate in class B, but are also found in excess in class D.

\* In the National Census which has just been taken (April, 1891), an attempt has been made to obtain information on this point as to all families occupying less than five rooms. If the answers have been fairly given, the results should be of great value in determining the social condition of the people in London and elsewhere.

*Number of rooms occupied.*

	One room.						Two rooms.						Three rooms.						Four rooms and over.						Persons in rooms not stated.	Popula- tion.			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10								
A.	7	10	4	2	2	7	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	25	219					
B.	98	97	42	47	34	51	21	25	31	36	33	35	30	7	9	8	5	16	8	16	2	2	4	6	—	3	288	3,057	
C.	40	56	30	29	20	8	47	33	41	38	29	14	8	14	13	9	16	14	11	3	4	9	5	3	2	200	2,233		
D.	54	44	26	19	14	12	82	38	50	39	35	22	15	18	13	14	17	10	10	6	22	10	16	13	6	5	7	302	2,867
E.	32	45	17	6	1	2	83	46	38	37	24	7	2	37	20	22	23	17	6	1	57	33	26	15	14	4	6	214	2,755
F.	2	3	—	—	—	—	4	3	—	6	1	—	—	19	9	8	3	1	—	—	64	14	20	8	4	1	—	1	763
Families	233	255	119	103	71	80	238	146	162	158	124	80	56	97	66	61	64	59	36	27	149	63	73	45	33	13	18	—	—
Persons	233	510	357	412	355	480	476	438	648	790	744	560	448	291	264	305	384	413	288	243	596	315	438	315	264	117	180	1,030	11,894

In a few cases there were more than six persons in one room—as many as seven, eight, and even nine. On the other hand the number of rooms occupied occasionally exceeded the number of persons in the family.

The facts are best shown in the table which follows:—



Share of room to each person.	A.		B.		C.		D.		E.		F.		Total.	
	Numbers	Per cent.	Numbers	Per cent.	Numbers	Per cent.	Numbers	Per cent.	Numbers	Per cent.	Numbers	Per cent.		
$\frac{1}{10}$ (and less).	42	21.6	306	11.1	48	2.4	72	2.8	12	0.5	—	—	480	4.4
$\frac{1}{8}$ . . . . .	10	5.2	170	6.1	100	4.9	70	2.7	5	0.2	—	—	355	3.2
or $\frac{1}{8}$ . . . . .	16	8.2	428	15.4	180	8.9	196	7.7	40	1.6	—	—	860	7.9
$\frac{1}{6}$ . . . . .	14	7.2	245	8.8	98	4.8	154	6.0	49	1.9	—	—	560	5.2
$\frac{1}{4}$ , $\frac{2}{3}$ , or $\frac{3}{4}$ . . . . .	33	17.0	468	16.9	291	14.3	342	13.3	204	8.0	6	0.8	1,344	12.4
$\frac{1}{3}$ . . . . .	8	4.2	64	2.3	88	4.3	80	3.1	48	1.9	—	—	288	2.7
or $\frac{1}{10}$ . . . . .	10	5.2	210	7.6	210	10.3	265	10.3	245	9.7	30	3.9	970	8.9
. . . . .	7	3.6	112	4.1	98	4.8	70	2.7	119	4.7	7	0.9	413	3.8
. . . . .	—	—	—	—	27	1.3	45	1.8	36	1.4	9	1.2	117	1.1
. . . . .	—	72.2	—	72.3	—	56.0	—	50.4	—	29.9	—	6.8	—	49.6
$\frac{1}{2}$ , $\frac{3}{4}$ , $\frac{4}{5}$ , or $\frac{4}{3}$ . . . . .	28	14.4	396	14.3	396	19.5	438	17.1	492	19.4	56	7.4	1,806	16.6
. . . . .	—	—	28	1.0	35	1.7	91	3.6	105	4.1	56	7.4	315	2.9
. . . . .	—	—	40	1.4	45	2.2	70	2.7	110	4.3	40	5.2	305	2.8
or $\frac{1}{6}$ . . . . .	3	1.5	87	3.1	153	7.5	210	8.2	294	11.6	129	16.9	876	8.1
. . . . .	8	4.2	36	1.4	52	2.6	52	2.0	80	3.1	36	4.7	264	2.4
. . . . .	—	—	10	0.4	20	1.0	50	2.0	165	6.5	70	9.2	315	2.9
. . . . .	15	7.7	169	6.1	192	9.5	360	14.0	537	21.1	323	42.4	1,596	14.7
1 (and over).	—	27.8	—	27.7	—	44.0	—	49.6	—	70.1	—	93.2	—	50.4
Persons . . . . .	194	100	2,769	100	2,033	100	2,565	100	2,541	100	762	100	10,864	100
Not stated . . . . .	25	—	288	—	200	—	302	—	214	—	1	—	1,030	—
	219	—	3,057	—	2,233	—	2,867	—	2,755	—	763	—	11,894	—

It will be seen that, taking this sample as a whole, five thousand individuals occupy less than half a room each and five thousand occupy half a room or more. Of those who occupy less than half a room most live three in a room. Of those who are less closely packed the greatest portion live two in a room, and next, following closely after, are those who occupy one room or more for each person.

Taking class by class in the same way we find that the position of A and B is the same, three-fourths occupy less than half a room each and one-fourth half a room or more. In class C rather more than half are in the first category, while in class D it is almost exactly half and half. In class E nearly three-fourths have not less than half a room each, while in class F there are very few who have not this amount of space.

It would be too rash to assume that what is here shown with regard to ten thousand people of classes A to F, would be true of the whole three million and a half of these classes, but there is nothing inherently improbable in the supposition.

Lest any of my readers should be unacquainted with the ordinary types of London houses, it may be well to complete this chapter by describing them.

There are houses in London having only one room, but they are accidental curiosities. Of houses with but two rooms—"one up and the other down," as it is said—there are plenty. Rows, and indeed whole streets of these independent little homes exist, and specimens may be found among the samples just given. In some, the outer door gives direct upon the living room, from which steep steps rise to the sleeping room above. In others, the entrance is through a tiny hall, containing the stairs to the room above. There may sometimes be a back yard, but more often the "back yard is in front," or oftener still these little houses form the sides of a court, across which hang the clothes-lines, while the end of it is occupied by the closets and a dust-bin. In very many, but not in all cases, besides the two rooms there is a washhouse; the washhouse usually extends forward and is sometimes detached. When the washhouse is also a kitchen, the house becomes a three-roomed house, but such are comparatively rare. The next acknowledged type is the four-roomed house. These houses have no basement or cellar, but rise from the level of the street. The front door opens on to a passage which, after giving access to the front parlour, a room 10 to 12 ft. square, leads to a kitchen hardly so large, being often cramped to accommodate the stairs. Overhead a room the same size as the kitchen looks back into a yard, while to the front is the best room of the house with two windows occupying the whole frontage. This room is often let unfurnished. If there is a back yard there is probably a small washhouse in it; and, as before, we are led on to the extra comfort of a five-roomed house, where the backward extension becomes kitchen and washhouse combined, or kitchen alone with a separate washhouse beyond. Some of these little four and five-roomed houses

stand back from the line of the street within the railings of a nominal garden, which will vary from one to three yards wide. In some quiet nooks this space is made really a garden, filled with carefully tended plants and decorated with rockery or "grotto" of shining stones and shells—in other places the hard beaten earth is without ornament and puts forth no green life. Whether the space be large or small, planted or not, it is useful in giving some privacy to the front room, the window of which is otherwise too close to the eyes and hands of every passer-by. An old-fashioned six-roomed house usually rises from a basement; that is, has two of its rooms below the level of the street. In such a house, the stairs at the end of the passage turn down as well as up, and the kitchen parlour, looking front, occupies, like the first floor room, the whole width of the house. There is usually a back kitchen, combining washhouse and scullery, and used for the dirty work. Such a house is eminently suited for letting. The people of the house may only use the two kitchens and let both floors above, or may themselves use the upper floor as well as kitchen, or one room in it. The rooms will be let furnished or unfurnished according to the position of the occupant—the better off furnish their rooms. This is a very common type of house, and a very pleasant one if the basement rooms are not more than half sunk below the level of the street, and if a wide area helps to make the lower rooms light. The ordinary eight-roomed house is the same thing slightly larger with a storey added, and it is hardly necessary to take our descriptions further. These are the old types. New combinations such as six rooms on two floors, or nine rooms on three floors, designed specially for letting in separate tenements are now in vogue, and it may be that the old types will gradually disappear.



## CHAPTER IV.

### BLOCKS OF MODEL DWELLINGS.

---

#### (1.) STATISTICS.

IN commencing any inquiry as to the block buildings of London, we must first decide "what is meant by a block dwelling." This is not such an easy matter as it seems when an ordinary suburban dwelling-house is contrasted with one of the huge blocks of tenements which cast their shadows across some of our streets. Yet, between these two, a graduated series might be easily arranged, and although there would be no doubt as to each end of the chain, opinions would differ as to where the houses ended and the blocks began. Thus, within two miles of the City, especially south of the Thames, are many tenement houses, with three or four floors, each floor fitted for the accommodation of a family, and usually let direct to the occupier; although in some cases one of the tenants takes the whole house and sub-lets. Again, many large houses built in former years for a well-to-do class are now let in tenements. The original occupants have sought some other neighbourhood, and the owner, finding his houses too large for the requirements of the poorer people left in the district, after slight alterations—water, it may be, laid on to every floor, and, perhaps, an extra closet constructed—lets the rooms to a number of families. Many examples of this kind are to be found in Wapping and Deptford, and in a lesser degree in other localities.

Tenement houses such as these have been regarded as



beyond the limits of this investigation, and in what follows only those blocks of dwellings (let at weekly rentals) have been included in which the staircase common to the occupiers is also open to the public. If there be an outer door or gate it is not fastened, at any rate, during the day. This definition is intended to exclude ordinary tenement houses, and also excludes the better class dwelling with a closed outer door, and a bell to each tenement. It thus limits the inquiry to blocks of dwellings specially erected for the accommodation of the working classes.

Having now defined the extent of the inquiry, the bases on which it rests may be stated. The groundwork is the information scheduled by the School Board visitors in 1887-89 as abstracted in our note-books. These particulars have been collated and arranged according to School Board Divisions, and they provide a basis from which the population resident in these buildings may be estimated and its social condition ascertained. To obtain information as to the amount of light and sanitary accommodation all the principal blocks have been visited; notes taken on these points and the dwellings arranged in groups in accordance with these facts.

The development of the "flat" system has been very rapid during recent years; indeed, in the newer suburbs nearly all the new houses are built to accommodate more than one family, while in some places miniature towns have sprung up built in this way, as at New Cross and Rotherhithe, where Springfield and Cliftonville provide accommodation for a large number of families. The increase of the number of "blocks" and dwellings provided is indicated in the following table which shows the number of dwellings built since our information was obtained from the School Board visitors (1889) and now added to make the list as nearly as may be complete up to the present date (March, 1891).

*Table I. Block Dwellings scheduled in 1889 and those opened since that time, arranged in School Board Divisions.*

School Board Division.	No. of Blocks Scheduled 1887-89.	Comprising Tenements.	No. of Blocks opened since.	Comprising Tenements.	Percentage Increase of Tenements since scheduling.
Chelsea. . . . .	13	535	3	317	59·2
Westminster. . . . .	45	3,869	9	502	12·9
City. . . . .	8	420	—	—	—
Marylebone . . . . .	32	1,898	3	453	23·8
Finsbury . . . . .	79	7,141	8	520	7·3
*Hackney . . . . .	67	4,190	6	223	5·3
*Tower Hamlets . . . . .	51	3,256	15	1,869	57·4
Southwark . . . . .	56	5,263	4	93	1·8
Greenwich . . . . .	6	307	—	—	—
East Lambeth . . . . .	40	3,014	7	602	19·9
West Lambeth . . . . .	21	1,223	2	75	6·1
Total . . . . .	418	31,116	57	4,654	14·9

The increase is probably slightly greater than the figures indicate, as every block was scheduled in 1887 and 1889, while some dwellings erected since may have escaped notice. The increase is general in the inner ring and greatest in the west and south. The growth still continues and several large blocks are now being built; amongst them being four by the Guinness Trustees at Hackney, Finsbury, Walworth, and Chelsea, two by Mr. Hartnoll in Rosebery Avenue, and some near Oxford Street by the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company. Even this activity seems scarcely to maintain a supply equal to the demand, for nearly all the blocks, in the central districts at least, are full, and in some cases the Superintendents have lists of would-be tenants waiting for vacancies.

In this connection, it may be noted that in the west of London the demand for this class of accommodation is

\* Scheduled in 1887; other Divisions in 1889.

much greater than in the east. There is scarcely an empty tenement to be found in the Westminster Division (which includes the whole district south of Oxford Street); but passing eastward the number of unoccupied dwellings increases, and at Deptford half the tenements are empty.

The great diversity of types embodied in these dwellings makes it somewhat difficult to arrange a system of classification which shall embrace all. As a primary division it has been thought best to arrange the dwellings in four groups, according to the ownership or management, viz.:—

(I.) Buildings belonging to philanthropic and semi-philanthropic associations, *i.e.* those which do not make profit their first consideration;

(II.) Buildings belonging to large trading companies, and with these are classed dwellings erected by private owners, when they have four or more blocks, and consequently may be regarded as on a similar footing as the companies;

(III.) Buildings belonging to private owners or of which the landlord is unknown or not in evidence; and

(IV.) Buildings erected by employers for their work-people.

With a few exceptions noted hereafter, groups I., II., and III. correspond with three kinds of buildings, into one of which nearly all the block dwellings can be placed. Group I. contains nearly all the best blocks in London; it includes most of the dwellings in which the maximum amount of open space and light are allowed, and in which sanitary arrangements and the comfort and convenience of the tenants have been studied. To the owners of the dwellings in this group is principally due the improved and improving standard attained in the construction of "models." The dwellings erected by the Peabody Trustees, the Corporation of the City of London, the Metropolitan Association for Improving the Dwellings of the Industrious Classes, and the Improved Industrial Dwellings



Company, fall into this group.\* Group II. also consists mainly of large blocks of buildings, but they are more closely packed and the lower tenements are generally insufficiently lighted. These dwellings tell the visitor that the dominant idea of the architect in planning them was not the comfort and well-being of the people who should inhabit the buildings, but "what is the greatest number of tenements that can be built 'to let' on the given area." On the other hand, commanding large amounts of capital, and building on a large scale, the owners of these dwellings can take advantage of modern sanitary and other improvements so that though usually darker and more densely populated than the first class, these buildings are not always deficient in sanitary and other conveniences. The third class (III.) is a mixed group; the chief point in common being that the blocks are usually much smaller than those included in the previous classes. It contains some very good blocks philanthropically owned, but the great majority

\* The following comparative statement of the financial position of some of the principal Companies owning blocks in Group I., compiled from the published accounts for 1890, may be of interest.

Years in existence.	Name.	Paid-up Capital.	Amount Borrowed.	Cost of Buildings.	Gross Rental, 1890.	Percentage of Gross Rental on Cost.	Expenses, 1890. (Rates, Repairs, and Management.)	Percentage of Expenses on Cost.	Dividend.
		£	£	£	£		£		
27	Peabody Trust . . . .	1,023,446	212,333	1,233,846	62,568	5.1	25,456	2.1	—
23	Improved Industrial Dwellings Co., Ltd. . .	550,000	370,923	1,061,991	97,103	9.1	39,748	3.7	5
47	* Metropolitan Association . . . . .	192,200	64,578	272,533	23,183	8.5	†12,072	4.8	4½
9	East End Dwellings Coy. . .	61,904	17,556	76,492	5,855	7.6	2,191	2.9	4½
6	Four per cent. Industrial Dwellings Coy. . .	95,500	—	95,480	†5,623	7.9	1,561	1.6	4

\* Includes 239 cottage tenements: 168 at Penge and 71 at Mile End New Town.

† Includes exceptional structural repairs on three of the older estates.

† Includes only seven months rental on building just opened. The percentage given makes allowance for this.

It is noteworthy that the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company, though doing very well by its tenants, not only pays 5 per cent. per annum, but has so far reduced its indebtedness that the sum of its capital, paid up or loaned, is now less by £141,000 than the cost of the buildings.



in this group are of a very unsatisfactory nature. Often belonging to a small local builder, who from choice or necessity sacrifices everything to cheapness, such blocks are dark and unsanitary; constructed with little or no regard to the comfort of the occupants. A number of dwellings do not, however, fall into either of these classes, and are grouped by themselves. (IV.) These are blocks built by employers for the homes of their work-people. There are not many. The majority are connected with breweries and occupied by their draymen and servants. These buildings exhibit considerable differences; in some cases being built on or forming part of the business premises.

The following tables give the number of blocks of each kind and the number of tenements they provide, with the comparative degree of light, air, and sanitary accommodation, and the estimated population arranged in classes; the whole being grouped according to School Board Divisions, and re-stated for all London.

In these tables the blocks not specially visited are separately stated (marked †). It will be seen that these, though counting up to 129 out of 475, only provide 3,126 out of 35,780 tenements, and only accommodate an estimated population of 19,634 out of 189,108. It is moreover certain that most of them belong to Group III., and it is probable that they are neither better nor worse than the others of their kind.

## II.—Block Dwellings arranged in Groups and School Board Divisions.

School Board Division.	Group.	No. of Blocks.	No. of Tene- ments.	Light and Air.					Sanitation.					Estimated Population in Classes.							
				Very Bad.	Bad.	Fair.	Good.	Very Good.	Very Bad.	Bad.	Fair.	Good.	Very Good.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G & H.	Total.
Celsea. ...	I.	2	230	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	706	407	—	1,113
	II.	2	155	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	832	121	—	953
	III.	3	83	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	17	18	39	446	26	—	546
	+III.	9	384	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	43	294	970	1,256	61	22	2,646
Total	—	16	852	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	60	312	1,009	3,240	615	22	5,258
Westminster	I.	30	3,201	—	—	4	17	9	—	—	—	20	10	—	311	108	2,936	8,738	4,456	277	16,826
	II.	4	402	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	117	399	95	1,611	251	—	2,473
	III.	12	539	—	1	9	2	—	—	—	3	7	—	—	558	273	117	719	238	—	1,905
	IV. +III.	4 4	117 112	—	—	1	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	43	217	524	—	784
Total	—	54	4,371	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	986	780	3,234	11,627	5,612	277	22,516
City ...	I.	2	277	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	199	1,507	—	9	1,715
	III.	1	32	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	212	—	—	—	212
	+III.	4	94	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	117	87	—	168	87	—	459
	+IV.	1	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	26	139	—	—	165
Total	—	8	420	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	117	87	437	1,814	87	9	2,551

† Not specially visited.



# II.—Block Dwellings arranged in Groups and School Board Divisions—(continued).

School Board Division.	Group.	No. of Blocks.	No. of Tenements.	Light and Air.					Sanitation.					Estimated Population in Classes.							
				Very Bad.	Bad.	Fair.	Good.	Very Good.	Very Bad.	Bad.	Fair.	Good.	Very Good.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G & H.	Total.
Southwark ...	I.	11	1,380	—	—	1	4	6	—	—	—	1	7	3	48	208	974	4,304	822	—	6,356
	II.	16	2,796	1	2	8	3	2	1	2	6	4	3	43	901	948	3,771	5,815	697	26	12,201
	III.	31	1,128	2	4	15	8	2	2	5	8	14	2	17	1,022	762	1,975	1,550	333	—	5,659
	IV.	2	62	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	169	169	—	338
Total	—	60	53 6	3	6	24	17	10	3	7	15	27	8	60	1,971	1,918	6,720	11,838	2,021	26	24,554
Greenwich ...	I.	2	195	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	74	403	112	35	—	624
	III.	3	56	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	82	256	—	—	338
	IV.	1	56	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	52	160	—	—	212
	—	6	307	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	74	537	528	35	—	1,174
East Lambeth.	I.	3	286	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	147	1,213	303	—	1,663
	II.	29	2,664	—	2	20	4	3	—	2	3	21	3	43	784	1,459	1,567	4,339	3,646	165	12,003
	III.	11	606	—	—	6	4	1	2	1	1	6	1	246	299	450	671	797	498	87	3,048
	IV.	4	60	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	156	30	190	35	—	411
Total	—	47	3,616	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	289	1,083	2,065	2,415	6,539	4,482	252	17,125
West Lambeth.	I.	1	352	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	112	1,083	217	—	1,412
	II.	8	548	—	—	3	3	2	—	—	3	3	2	—	82	247	1,026	1,706	464	—	3,525
	III.	7	277	—	1	3	3	—	1	3	1	2	—	—	251	96	394	537	134	—	1,412
	IV.	7	121	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	307	334	52	—	693
Total	—	23	1,298	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	333	343	1,839	3,660	867	—	7,042

+ Not specially visited.



### III.—Block Dwellings arranged in Groups. All London.

Group.	No. of Blocks.	No. of Tenements.	Light and Air.					Sanitation.					Estimated Population in Classes.							
			Very Bad.	Bad.	Fair.	Good.	Very Good.	Very Bad.	Bad.	Fair.	Good.	Very Good.	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G & H.	Total.
I. . . .	106	14,288	—	—	20	50	36	—	1	4	60	41	—	2,861	2,477	11,568	45,008	10,180	347	72,441
II. . . .	117	13,394	2	11	55	39	10	4	8	24	68	13	112	6,755	8,085	15,058	30,697	7,933	395	69,035
+II. . . .	3	97	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	95	57	190	191	30	—	563
III. . . .	116	4,773	8	12	59	30	7	19	20	35	38	4	302	4,975	3,357	7,603	7,690	2,745	91	26,763
+III. . . .	120	2,896	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	86	2,455	2,084	4,523	7,790	1,374	56	18,368
IV. . . .	7	199	—	—	1	5	1	—	1	—	6	—	—	—	—	43	407	785	—	1235
+IV. . . .	6	133	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	78	486	139	—	703
Total Blocks visited .	346	32,654	10	23	135	124	54	23	30	63	172	58	414	14,591	13,919	34,272	83,802	21,643	833	169,474
Total Blocks not visited	129	3,126	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	86	2,550	2,141	4,791	8,467	1,543	56	19,634
Grand Total	475	35780	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	500	17,141	16,060	39,063	92,269	23,186	889	189,108

† Not specially visited.

IV.—Classification of those living in Buildings reported as “Bad,” or “Very Bad,” as to Light and Air or Sanitation.

Estimated Population in Classes.											
	Blocks.	Tenements	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G and H.	Total.	
Group I.	1	263	—	351	—	325	316	—	—	992	
" II.	19	2,914	78	2,699	3,503	4,200	5,991	611	13	17,095	
" III.	46	2,286	298	3,352	1,689	3,606	2,493	586	4	12,028	
" IV.	1	9	—	—	—	43	—	—	—	43	
Total . . .	67	5,472	376	6,402	5,192	8,174	8,800	1,197	17	30,158	
Estimate for Buildings not specially reported	48	1,387	86	1,655	1,044	2,143	2,529	294	2	7,753	
Grand Total . .	115	6,859	462	8,057	6,236	10,317	11,329	1,491	19	37,911	
Per cent. .			1.22	21.25	16.45	27.22	29.88	3.93	0.05	100	

V.—Classification of those living in Buildings reported as “Fair,” “Good” or “Very Good,” as to Light and Air or Sanitation.

Estimated Population in Classes.											
	Blocks.	Tenements	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G and H.	Total.	
Group I.	105	14,025	—	2,510	2,477	11,243	44,692	10,180	347	71,449	
" II.	98	10,480	34	4,056	4,582	10,858	24,706	7,322	382	51,940	
" III.	70	2,487	4	1,623	1,668	3,997	5,197	2,159	87	14,735	
" IV.	6	190	—	—	—	—	407	785	—	1,192	
Total . . .	279	27,182	38	8,189	8,727	26,098	75,002	20,446	816	139,316	
Estimate for Buildings not specially reported	81	1,739	—	895	1,097	2,648	5,938	1,249	54	11,881	
Grand Total . .	360	28,921	38	9,084	9,824	28,746	80,940	21,695	870	151,197	
Per cent. .			0.02	6.01	6.50	19.01	53.53	14.35	0.58	100	

As will be seen in Tables II. and III., the blocks have been arranged in five classes to indicate the comparative amount of light and open space, and a similar classification has been adopted as regards sanitary accommodation. The signification of the terms used may now be explained and illustrated. Dealing first with the amount of light and air, the only dwellings that have been classed as "Very Good" are such as have open spaces in front or behind equal to the height of the building, and of which the lower tenements get direct sunlight during some part of the day. The staircases of these blocks have direct light from the outside, either by a window or large opening. The term "Good" has been applied to dwellings which have an open space, front or back, and in which each tenement has direct sunlight, although possibly not to every window. Staircases and landings are lighted by windows or openings. Most of the dwellings in this class have as good light in front as those classed "Very Good," but the backs are usually duller, especially in the larger blocks. Some may have well-lighted rooms, but a staircase so constructed that no direct light reaches it, as when the stairs are placed at the back of the entrance hall with no light except from windows on the landings. With "Fair," are classed dwellings which are built so closely that direct sunlight never reaches some of the lower tenements, which as a result are always dull, cheerless abodes. The staircases in many of these blocks ascend in the middle of the block and are lighted from above. If the space be small, as it usually is, the lower landings are dark, the light being effectually stopped by the upper floors. Some blocks have extensions at the back with recesses between, reminding one of the teeth of a huge saw. Windows in such recesses have but little direct light. "Bad" has been applied to dwellings in which, although the fronts may be fairly lighted, other windows look into enclosed courtyards, the width of which is but a small fraction of the height of the buildings, or

where the blocks are placed so closely to each other that the sky cannot be seen from the lower floors without leaning out of the window. The staircases if enclosed are always dark, and even if provided with a large opening the light cannot obtain access, except to the upper floors. "Very Bad" has been reserved for blocks in which most of the rooms are dark, and the passages badly arranged and lighted so that for instance numbers on the tenement doors cannot be seen without the aid of a light. In forming an idea of these conditions, it must be remembered that in all blocks, especially on the upper floors, there are some rooms and passages that are well lighted. The test must be applied to the lower floors. In brief, the standard of "Very Good" is that *all* tenements should be well lighted and have free access to the outer air. In proportion as this ideal is forsaken, the buildings are placed lower in the scale.

Turning now to the sanitary conditions, in which are included the drainage, closet accommodation, water supply and the disposal of refuse; a great variety is noticeable in the methods employed and the provision made. Indeed, the standard of excellence is sought in widely different directions, and strong arguments are adduced by the advocates of each system. One party seeks as much as possible to disconnect the drains and closets from the tenements, and attains its object in various ways. Others seek to make the tenement as self-contained as the ordinary house and provide all accommodation within the dwelling, and by ventilation and isolation, endeavour to obviate any possible ill effects. In this inquiry the standard of excellence termed "Very Good" has been given to the best types of both systems. Either the buildings have a separate closet and water supply in each tenement, so arranged that any danger from sewer gas is reduced to a minimum; or, in buildings of the other type, equal accommodation is given, situate conveniently for the tenants, and in a position where it will not attract general attention.



An example of the former class is a tenement with a scullery containing sink, water tap, and copper, and separated from the living rooms by a door. Shut off from this scullery is the closet, either enclosed or reached by a small private balcony. Dwellings in which separate accommodation has been provided for each tenement either on a balcony or the landing, but not so well arranged as in the other case, are classed "Good." With them are included tenements where accommodation is shared by two and in a few cases by three tenants, if such accommodation be good and decently arranged. Most of the Peabody buildings come into this class. Where the accommodation is less in proportion than this, it is termed "Fair," as in a case where a water tap and closet is shared between four tenants on a floor. "Bad" and "Very Bad" have been used to describe inefficient drainage, evidenced by the presence of sewer gas, or a combination of bad drainage and insufficient accommodation. A few instances will better explain the distinction between these and the preceding classes. One block has a scullery on each landing (four tenements) containing the dust-shoot, water tap, and two closets. The latter are defective, and in some cases there is no water for flushing purposes. Another block has a sink and water tap in the living room and a closet (open) on each landing for the use of four tenements. A third has a sink and closet on each landing for the use of six families. These are all classed "Bad." In the "Very Bad" class is one block with the washhouse and closets in an underground basement and a sink and water tap on each landing; this building has five floors. Another block has two open closets and a sink on each landing for the use of ten tenants; and a third with twelve tenements on each floor, has two sinks, two closets, and a small open balcony, protected by an iron railing, as a washhouse. In these "Very Bad" cases, the dwellings and accommodation are filthy in the extreme, and the effluvia such that a visitor escapes to the open air as quickly as possible.

These five degrees of "light and air" and sanitary accommodation are found in various combinations, but there is a certain relationship between them. Thus buildings in Group I seldom go lower than "Fair" in either scale; and well-lighted buildings usually have "Good" or "Very Good" sanitary conditions. On the other hand, buildings where the sanitation is "Bad" or "Very Bad" seldom rise higher than "Fair" in the other scale. There are a few blocks that occupy the lowest place in both scales, and a slightly larger number attain the highest place in both. A description of the conditions obtaining in a few representative blocks will give a better idea of the facts:—

\* \* \* \* \* *Buildings* ("very bad" in both sections) is a large plain brick building with six floors, the lowest being half basement. Entering by a gate and ascending a few steps a long passage is reached extending from the front to the back of the building. About half way along this passage is the staircase, and facing it is a window frame from which the sashes have been removed and a sink and water tap placed in the opening. This aperture looks out on a small courtyard. On the staircase is another opening to a second courtyard, long and narrow. These two open spaces light, or are supposed to light, the back tenements: their walls have been whitened recently. Close by the sink is the dust-shoot and a closet, and on the stairs is a second closet. This accommodation provides for nearly twenty tenements, one and two-roomed, whose doors open on this passage. The upper floors are similar, save that the passages are much darker, as they have no light from the street and make a turn at each end to give access to the remoter tenements. The inner walls are dirty, and the plaster has fallen from the roof in patches. The basement has been condemned and closed as unsanitary.

\* \* \* \* \* *Buildings* ("very bad" in both sections) is a four-storeyed block, facing a wide open space. A few steps lead up to the outer door (always open): beyond is a passage with a tenement on each side, and at the end is the staircase facing a door which opens into a little back yard. At the bend of the stairs is a small washhouse; the door is open—it contains a

copper and water supply ; in one corner there is a closet, and in another a great heap of ashes, the accumulation of several washing days. Everything is filthy, and the stench very bad. A few more steps lead to a dark passage with two 2-roomed or four 1-roomed tenements. The floors above are similar. A notice outside tells passers that there are "rooms to let, papered and painted, and in good repair"; and that "none but quiet respectable people need apply."

\* \* \* \* \* *Buildings.* (Light, bad ; sanitation, very bad). A large group consisting of four blocks, built with a close courtyard between each. The sides of the blocks front on a narrow roadway, and the basement and ground floor are used as workshops. The four floors above are reached by two staircases, enclosed in brickwork and lighted by openings, built one at the back and the other in the front of each alternate courtyard. The stairs are dark and the brickwork intercepts the light which should reach the rooms whose windows open into these courts, making them dark also. From each side of the landing, which extends from block to block, a short dark passage leads to two and occasionally more dwellings, to reach which the doors of two closets belonging to these tenements have to be passed. These doors are open, and a bad odour pervades the place. Water is laid on to each tenement, and there is a dust-shoot on the stairs.

\* \* \* \* \* *Buildings.* (Light, bad ; sanitation, bad.) A large block, six floors, built on the four sides of a square, the tenements being reached by staircases entered from the central yard. Another block has been built across the centre of the enclosed yard, and is itself dark and makes the surrounding blocks dark also. Tenants have water taps in their rooms, and there are two closets in a scullery on each floor for the use of the four tenements on the floor. The buildings are not well-kept, and the water supply is deficient.

\* \* \* \* \* *Buildings* (Light, bad ; sanitation, fair) form a kind of square, enclosing a yard ; two sides of the square are altered dwelling-houses. There are four floors, and the upper tenements are reached by an outer staircase, which leads to an open gallery, extending round the inner front of the block. The rooms are small, and the lower ones dark. Each tenement



has a small scullery about 6 ft. square, containing sink, small copper, and closet; the latter is enclosed by some matchboarding and a door, but the partition does not extend to the roof.

\* \* \* \* \* *Buildings.* (Light, fair; sanitation, very bad.) Three-storeyed tenements. The stairs are placed at the back, and they, as well as the back rooms, are dark. The front rooms are well lighted as the street is wide. On each landing there is a water tap and closet for the use of the four or six tenants living on that floor. Buildings are dirty, and drains smell badly.

\* \* \* \* \* *Buildings.* (Light, fair; sanitation, bad.) A six-storeyed block, with seven single rooms on each floor. Light is impeded by high buildings on the opposite side of the street; the stairs are lighted by a small opening. On each floor there are three closets, usually left open, and a scullery with water laid on. Washhouse is on the roof. The floors are dirty.

\* \* \* \* \* *Buildings* (Light, fair; sanitation, fair) are closely built blocks, containing several hundred tenements. There are two parallel blocks enclosing a yard space, into which other blocks abut at right angles. The outer tenements are light, but the lower floors facing the yard are shaded by the six-storeyed blocks opposite. The stairs are lighted by small openings; the sides are painted a dark colour (increasing the gloomy appearance). That the drainage is not good is evident to the senses.

\* \* \* \* \* *Buildings* (Light, good; sanitation, good) are well built six-storeyed dwellings. There are two blocks, one of which fronts on the street, and the other on a wide paved courtyard between the blocks. The entrances to the blocks are in the yard, and are reached by means of an archway from the street. The staircases, lined with white glazed bricks, ascend in the centre of each block, and being lighted from above, the lower landings are rather dark. There is a washhouse on each landing for the use of the four tenants, who live on that floor. This contains a copper, water supply, washing trays, and a bath. At each end of the landing there is a sink and water tap, as well as a closet, for the use of the occupiers of the two tenements on that side. All the appliances are in good order, and the buildings are kept very clean.



\* \* \* \* \* *Buildings.* (Light, good; sanitation, good.) Two five-storeyed blocks with an open courtyard round them. The staircase ascends in a central tower, and communicates with the tenements by galleries. The rooms are well lighted; some have two windows. Each tenement has a sink in the living room, and a closet, with lock and key, outside the tenement door. The dust-shoot is on the staircase, and the washhouses on the roof.

\* \* \* \* \* *Buildings* (Light, very good; sanitation, good) are built round a large square, about fifty yards across, and the backs of the tenements have an outlook on the surrounding streets. The dwellings are six-storeyed, and each staircase has about thirty tenements; five on a floor. The stairs are lighted by a window, and on each landing there is a washhouse with two coppers, and sets of washing trays, a dust-shoot, and a sink and closet in recesses at each end of the floor for the use of the two or three tenants residing on that side. These recesses also contain a coal-bunker and cupboard for each tenant.

\* \* \* \* \* *Buildings* (Light, very good; sanitation, very good) stand a little off the main road. A six-storeyed block with a wide asphalted yard in front used as a play-ground, and another at the back for drying purposes. The stairs are wide, lighted by a large opening, and have two tenements on each landing. Each dwelling is self-contained, and has a scullery fitted with copper and sink, and beyond it, shut off by another door, is the closet and coal-bunker. The yards and building are kept very clean, and the stuccoed and painted front gives a cheerful appearance to the dwellings.

The interior arrangements and the convenience of tenements varies greatly in different blocks, and largely determine the degree of comfort possible to the occupants. The number of rooms in the tenement naturally affects the arrangement of the fittings, and a description of a few tenements of one, two and three rooms respectively, will give an idea of the conditions of life in these dwellings. In some blocks there are tenements comprising four, five, and even six rooms, but it will not be necessary to describe these as they are comparatively few in number, the great

majority of tenements being from one to three rooms. Particulars as to the number of rooms in each tenement have been obtained for 188 blocks, comprising 20,441 tenements: of these, 2,824 were single rooms; 9,970 two-roomed, and 6,523 three-roomed dwellings; the remainder, 1,124, consisting of four to six-roomed tenements;\* the total number of rooms in these blocks being 46,925.

*One-roomed Tenements.* With these apartments the amount of convenience varies very much. A few have everything to themselves in a small scullery or balcony, but in the majority of cases, washhouses and closets are shared with one or more other tenants. The rents range from 1s 9d to 6s, according to the locality and the floor.

In \* \* \* \* \* *Buildings* (Group I. Light, g; sanitation, v. g.), single rooms average about 2s 9d a week. One seen had an area of 12½ ft. by 10 ft., and was about 8½ ft. high. It was lighted by a large window; contained a range with oven and boiler, and three cupboards. The walls were coloured. The water supply and closet, shared with two other tenants, were on the landing, where a small larder and coal-bunker was also provided.

In \* \* \* \* \* *Buildings* (Group II. Light, g.; sanitation, v. g.), all tenements, including the single rooms, have separate sculleries. This block is more centrally situate than the previous dwelling, and the rents are higher. A single room with scullery lets at 6s per week. The room seen is situated in the basement, and reached by descending half a dozen steps from the street. The outer door opens direct into the room, which, lofty (about 10 ft. high) and of irregular shape, is about 12 ft. by 13 ft. The fittings include a range with oven; by the side is a cupboard, reaching to the ceiling, and there is a movable dresser. The walls are papered and the woodwork grained. Facing the outer door is the entrance to the scullery, which is rather large, and has a small range with oven. It contains a copper, coal-bunker, sink and water tap, and, shut off by a partition, the closet. A door

\* In this calculation, the scullery attached to some of the tenements is not reckoned as a room; only those apartments which could be used for living purposes being counted. In the statistics prepared by the various Companies, sculleries or washhouses are usually termed rooms, if they form a part of the tenement.

gives access to the basement yard, which is about 3 ft. below the level of the roadway.

As a contrast to these rooms, a single room in \* \* \* \* \* *Buildings* (Group II. Light, f.; Sanitation, b.) may be described. The room is about 12 ft. square, and is fitted with a range with an oven. By the side of the fireplace a copper is built. There are no cupboards, only a place for coals. The walls are papered, and the ceiling has been whitewashed. There is a sink and two closets on the landing for the use of the seven tenements on the floor. When seen, this room was occupied by a man, his wife, and five children, or rather four children, for one was in the hospital. The walls were dirty, and the steam from the washing, combined with neglect, had cracked the plaster of the ceiling, and to keep it from falling the tenant had pasted a sheet of paper on the ceiling immediately above the copper. The rent was 3s 6d a week.

*Two-roomed Tenements.* In these dwellings separate accommodation is much more common than in one-roomed tenements, although in some blocks in which the three-roomed tenements are self-contained, those with two rooms will have a common washhouse. Rents vary greatly.

In \* \* \* \* \* *Dwellings* (Group I. Light, g.; sanitation, g.), two rooms let at 5s 6d a week. The outer door opens into a lobby, in which, hidden by the door when it is open, is a large coal-bin, with shelves above for saucepans, &c. On the left-hand side of the lobby is the living room (15 ft. by 13 ft.), which is papered and lighted by two windows. The fittings include a closed range with oven; dresser with cupboard underneath; another cupboard, the upper part of which encloses the sink, the water tap being seen above. Near this is a door leading to a small pantry, fitted with shelves, and having a small window. Another door leads from the lobby into the bedroom, which is about 12 ft. by 14 ft. It has a small fireplace; is papered and painted, and well lighted by two windows. A separate closet, with lock and key, is provided on the landing outside.

\* \* \* \* \* *Dwellings* (Group I. Light, g.; sanitation, g.) are within easy reach of the City, but are too close to the railway to be pleasant abodes. The two-roomed tenement lets at 6s 6d a week. The outer door opens into a small lobby, and a door on the left leads



into the front room, which is about 14 ft. by 9 ft., but is rather oddly shaped, a curved portion being taken from one corner by the staircase, and about 4 ft. square from another for the lobby. It is lighted by a small window, which looks on the gallery leading to the tenement. The walls are papered, and there is a small open fireplace. The living room (about 9 ft. by 14 ft.) is continuous with the lobby, and lighted by a large window. It contains a range with oven and boiler, a dresser and cupboard. Passing across this room, a scullery, about 6 ft. square, is reached, which contains a small range with oven and boiler, copper, dust-shoot, and, enclosed by a door and partition, the sink and water tap. Another inner door shuts off the closet from the scullery.

*Three-roomed Tenements.* These are usually self-contained, except those belonging to the Peabody Trustees and a few other owners, who object to this mode of construction. Rents have a wide range; the lowest being 4s 3d per week, and the highest about three times as much.

In \* \* \* \* \* *Buildings* (Group II. Light, v. g.; sanitation, v. g.) a three-roomed tenement lets at 10s 3d per week. The door from the outer staircase opens into the living room, which is about 15 ft. by 12 ft. On the side of the room facing the outer door is the range with oven, and a door leading to the bedroom. Facing the fireplace is the dresser, a high cupboard, and the coal-bunker occupying the whole of this side, except that portion taken by the outer door. The room has a large window, and a door by the side leads to the scullery, which contains the sink, copper, and dust-shoot, and enclosed by a second door the closet. From the scullery a small open balcony is reached. The bedroom is about 10 ft. by 12 ft., and has a fireplace and high cupboard, and also a door leading to another small balcony. From the living room a door on the left opens into the parlour (12 ft. by 13 ft.), which has an open fireplace, and the window (large) is fitted with venetian blinds. All the rooms are papered and the woodwork is grained. The light is good and the rooms have a cheerful appearance.

All the tenements in \* \* \* \* \* *Buildings* (Group I. Light, g.; sanitation, v. g.) are self-contained; some have bay windows



in front, where the light is good, the houses on the opposite side being small, but some tall warehouses have been built at the back, and the lower rooms are rendered dull. The three-roomed tenements in the basement are let at 9s a week. The outer door opens into a passage from which three doors lead to the parlour, bedroom, and kitchen respectively. The parlour is a large room with a bay window. It contains a register stove and a sideboard cupboard. The walls are papered and the woodwork grained. The bedroom adjoins this room; it is small, and the window looks on the back yard. The walls are papered and there is a small stove. The kitchen, a larger room, is lighted by a window looking upon the yard, and is fitted with a dresser and range with oven and boiler. Leading from this apartment is the scullery, which has a small stove and contains the copper and sink, and shut off by another door is the coal-bunker with a cupboard above, and enclosed by a second door is the closet.

Of the larger tenements, it suffices to say that they are very like those already described, with the addition of one or more bedrooms. They are, as a rule, well lighted, generally situate at the angles of the blocks, and are usually self-contained. The internal fittings may be better; the woodwork grained, and better paper on the walls; and in some there are finger plates on the doors. The lobbies will be larger; indeed, more of the nature of passages.

That improvements in construction and fitting should be made in these dwellings was to be expected, and the experience of the older Companies has been utilized by modern builders. These improvements may be grouped under three heads; viz. (1) better appearance; (2) better light; and (3) more and better internal fittings. In other respects, many of the buildings erected to-day are not equal to those built in the "fifties."

(1) In appearance the best modern buildings are a great advance on the older dwellings. A plain exterior was formerly deemed quite good enough for "models," but many of the modern blocks possess a high degree of

architectural merit. This is well seen by comparing Thanksgivings Buildings, near Gray's Inn Road, with some of the Improved Industrial Dwellings Company's Blocks, near Oxford Street, or with Marlborough Buildings, South Kensington, or even with such blocks as Waldeck Buildings, or Holsworthy Square.

(2) As regards light, the difference is most marked in the construction of the staircases. In the best of the older buildings (and it is useless to compare any but the best of the different epochs), while the rooms are well lighted, the staircases and passages are frequently dark. They appear to have been neglected for the sake of the tenements. This defect attaches in a minor degree to some of the earlier Peabody dwellings, in which the staircases have no direct light. In what is known as the "new" style this fault is corrected, and the stairs are lighted by a window. In other buildings light is obtained either by a large window, or what is becoming more general, the staircases are open to the air, protected by an iron railing. In many cases they are lined with white glazed bricks, which make them light even on dull days.

(3) It is in the internal fittings (and with these are included washhouses, baths, &c.), that the greatest advances have been made. In the older dwellings there is usually a deficiency of cupboard room; the rooms are seldom papered, and the tenements appear cheerless and bare. In the best of the modern buildings, however, there are plenty of cupboards; the walls are papered and the woodwork grained; windows are fitted with venetian blinds; dressers and other conveniences are provided, and it is the exception to find a room without a fireplace, a frequent occurrence in the three-roomed tenements of the older buildings.

The older buildings usually have a large washhouse with a number of coppers and washing trays, sometimes placed in cubicles, so that the washer has a slight degree of

privacy, but it is the exception. This arrangement is often a fruitful source of difficulties, especially in the poorer buildings. One woman will leave a copper dirty, and the next comer has to clean it before she can commence her work. Another and even more weighty objection is that of the better class woman to do her work in a semi-public laundry. She will not: she does not like to mix up with everybody. Even to listen to conversation often as coarse as it is loud, is an ordeal that a sensitive woman will not willingly undergo. So strong are these objections that a quite modern block built on this principle is only two-thirds full, although it provides good rooms, fairly lighted, at a rent lower than that current in the district, and has baths and washhouses provided with mangles, drying racks, wringers, and all modern appliances, in a separate building. Other buildings near this block are full, and but for this drawback, as people regard it, these tenements would probably be occupied. The general custom now is to make the dwellings self-contained, or to have a washhouse on each floor shared by, at most, four or five tenants.

Baths, when first introduced in the Peabody Buildings, were placed in the basements of the blocks. If hot water were wanted, it must be heated in the tenants' rooms and carried downstairs. This procedure evidently does not commend itself to the people: they prefer to pay twopence at the public baths, for which sum they get a hot bath and attendance without any trouble. Consequently most of the baths are unused, only one or two being kept open on each estate, and these are only used during the summer. More recently the Artizans', Labourers' and General Dwellings Company have improved on this arrangement. They place a bath in the washhouse on each floor for the joint use of four tenants on that landing. Water can be heated in the copper, and washing being done mostly by Wednesday, the bath is available at the end of the week. In the Brady



Street Buildings, opened in 1890, the baths occupy the lower floor of one block. Hot and cold water is supplied, a charge of one penny being made for hot and a halfpenny for cold baths, or a mother can bathe two children in hot water for one penny.

Of other accessories, space will only permit of slight mention. One block has a clubhouse with separate reading rooms for ladies and gentlemen, billiard and conversation rooms, while several blocks are provided with libraries, sometimes by the owners, in other cases by friends.

That block dwellings are likely to increase in proportion to other dwellings seems indisputable, especially where population is most crowded, and in view of this their influence on health and the comparative healthfulness of such buildings and of ordinary houses accommodating a similar class, are important points. Unfortunately the information necessary to decide these questions and place them beyond controversy is not available. Concerning the better blocks certain statistics are published, but for many of the buildings in Groups II. and III. no particulars can be obtained.\*

It is certain that the dwellings classed "Bad" or "Very bad" as regards either light or sanitary accommodation, must be undesirable abodes, tending to shorten the lives of the occupants. That some of the landlords do not feel confidence in the proper condition of the buildings they let is shown by the following copy of a notice posted up beside the caretaker's door in one of these blocks.

" \* \* \* \* \* BUILDINGS. NOTICE TO TENANTS.

"Any contract or agreement for the letting of any part of \* \* \* \* \* Buildings, shall be deemed not to contain or imply any condition on the part of ———, the landlords, that the premises let by said contract or agreement are at

\* In an interesting paper read before the Royal Statistical Society in February, 1891, Dr. A. Newsholme deals very fully with this subject.



the commencement of the Tenancy in all respects reasonably fit for human habitation within the meaning of Section 12 of the Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1885, 48 and 49 Vic. c. 72, and every tenant shall be deemed to expressly waive such a condition.

“By Order, \_\_\_\_\_, *Secretary.*”

The Section 12 quoted, says that in any contract "there shall be implied a condition that the house is at the commencement of the hiring in ALL respects reasonably fit for human habitation." If such a notice would enable the landlord legally to evade his responsibility, which it is to be hoped is not the case, it must be admitted, judging by the appearance of the building, that he does wisely to protect himself by posting it up.

The outcome of the great clearances made in various parts of London by the late Metropolitan Board of Works, shows clearly the tendency towards the erection of many storeyed blocks wherever old streets and courts are demolished on such a scale as to leave enough space to be laid out in this way ; and from this or other causes it is to be noted that these dwellings are chiefly to be found in groups. With slight differences as between these groups, they accommodate on the whole a somewhat uniform class, but it is probable that this characteristic tends to become less marked as time goes on. It will be very well if this is so, at least in the upward direction, in order that the standard of excellence in the arrangement and fittings, and of orderly life amongst the occupants, may continue to rise. The advantages of a downward extension are less certain, or at least more difficult to secure. Good accommodation if supplied on ordinary business principles is too dear for those on or below the "line of poverty," and even the dwellings of the Peabody trustees, where the gross rental is but five per cent. on the capital invested, serve for the most part to accommodate those who are fairly well-off. The result is that with a few exceptions it may be said that

it is only in the worst blocks that the poor are accommodated, and the question, "How is this to be avoided?" has still to find an answer. The attempt of the Guinness Trustees in this direction will be watched with interest.

Many of the poor regard dwellings with an aversion which is not altogether to be wondered at. To some the rules and regulations are unendurable, and they prefer apartments in the most wretched tenement-house to living in buildings. As one woman standing at her street door said to me, "You can do as you like in a house, and have a yard to yourself, and that is more than you can in them blocks," pointing contemptuously to some buildings at the top of the street. The fact, which I happened to know, that twenty-two persons lived in that seven-roomed house, and that at least two costermongers' barrows and a pony were kept in the yard, did not seem to trouble her in the least. Put more pathetically, "they like their little home," and cannot readily find it in an apartment off the common stairway of a huge barrack. In spite of this very general dislike, and however well grounded the dislike may be, the poor may be forced by the exigencies of the rebuilding of London to accept block life in some districts, and if so there is great danger, unless active steps are taken to prevent it, that while the better-to-do occupy the best buildings the poor casual and irregular workers will be relegated to dark unsanitary dwellings, and when herded together there may be far worse placed than in their old homes. This subject is however treated more adequately by Miss Octavia Hill in the section that follows.

## (2.) INFLUENCE ON CHARACTER.

As has been said it is pretty clear that the working population of London is likely to be more and more housed in "blocks," and it is not very profitable to spend time in considering whether this is a fact to rejoice in or to deplore, except so far as the consideration may enable us to see how

far the advantages of the change may be increased, or the drawbacks diminished. The advantages of the change are very apparent and are apt to appear overwhelming, and the disadvantages are apt to be dismissed as either somewhat sentimental or inevitable.

The advantages may I think be briefly summed up under two heads. It is supposed that better sanitary arrangements are secured in blocks. It is also certain that all inspection and regulation are easier in blocks; and on inspection and regulation much of our modern legislation, much of our popular hope, is based.

With regard to the sanitary arrangements I think all who are at all conversant with the subject are beginning to be aware that they may be at least as faulty in blocks as in smaller buildings—but it is undoubtedly true that even where this is so the publicity of the block enables inspection to be carried out much more easily and so, theoretically at least, a certain standard can be better enforced. But this is not quite so true in actual practice as those who put their faith in enforcement of sanitary law are apt to imagine. Still it is true, and it is a very distinct advantage to be noted.

Your readers may be astonished that I do not put down the greater economy of the block system as a distinct gain, but I am not so wholly sure as many seem that it exists. For, first, room by room the block dwellings are not at all invariably cheaper than those in small houses. Moreover, I do not think we can permanently congratulate and pride ourselves upon, hardly that we can permit, a form of construction which admits so very little sunlight into lower floors, so that to the present cost of block buildings must, I should think, be fairly added in the future such diminution of height or such increase of yard space as would allow of the freer entrance of air and light. This would increase the ground rent payable on each room. I think also that the cheapness of building many storey buildings is exaggerated.



I have built very few blocks, but I have been consulted about some, and I have more than once proved in £ s. d. that cutting off a storey from the block as shown in the plans was a very small net loss, when cost of building, saving on rates, repairs, &c., and possibly even diminution in wall thickness justified by the lower elevation, were taken into account. We must also remember the increase of rent gladly paid by the sober and home-loving working man for ground floor rooms, lighter and pleasanter than if over-shadowed by higher blocks. I do not wish to generalise, the matter is one of £. s. d., but I say that the figures are well worth careful study on each building scheme, and that so far as the model dwellings are concerned I think their undue height in proportion to width of yard has sometimes been due to the mistaken zeal for accommodating numbers of families. I say mistaken, for with our increased means of cheap transit we should try to scatter rather than to concentrate our population, especially if the concentration has to be secured by dark lower rooms.

With regard to the disadvantages of blocks I think they may be divided into those which may be looked upon by those of us who are hopeful as probably transitory, and those which seem, so far as we can see, quite essential to the block system. The transitory ones are by far the most serious. They are those which depend on the enormously increased evil which grows up in a huge community of those who are undisciplined and untrained. They disappear with civilization, they are so far as I know entirely absent in large groups of blocks where the tenants are the quiet, respectable, working-class families, who, to use a phrase common in London, "keep themselves to themselves," and whose well-ordered quiet little homes, behind their neat little doors with bright knockers, nicely supplied with well-chosen appliances, now begin to form groups where responsible respectable citizens live in cleanliness and order. What this life will be



in the future will greatly affect London. Under rules they grow to think natural and reasonable, inspected and disciplined, every inhabitant registered and known, school board laws, sanitary laws, and laws of the landlord or company regularly enforced; every infectious case of illness instantly removed, all disinfecting done at public cost, it is a life of law, regular, a little monotonous, and not developing any great individuality, but consistent with happy home-life, and it promises to be the life of the respectable London working-man.

On the other hand, what life in blocks is to the less self-controlled hardly any words of mine are strong enough to describe, and it is abhorred accordingly by the tidy and striving wherever any—even a small—number of the undisciplined are admitted to blocks, or where—being admitted—there is not real living rule exercised. Regulations are of *no* avail, no public inspection can possibly for more than an hour or two secure order, no resident superintendent has at once conscience, nerve, and devotion, single-handed to stem the violence, the dirt, the noise, the quarrels; no body of public opinion on the part of the tenants themselves asserts itself, one by one disheartened the tidier ones depart, the rampant remain and prevail, and *often with a very fair show to the outsider* the block becomes a sort of pandemonium. No one who is not in and out day by day, or better still night after night, no one who does not watch the swift degradation of children belonging to tidy families, no one who does not know the terrorism exercised by the rough over the timid and industrious poor, no one who does not know the abuse of every appliance provided by the benevolent or speculative, but non-resident, landlord, can tell what life in blocks is where the population is low-class. Sinks and drains are stopped; yards provided for exercise must be closed because of misbehaviour; boys bathe in drinking water cisterns; wash-houses on staircases—or staircases themselves—become the nightly haunt of the

vicious, the Sunday gambling places of boys; the yell of the drunkard echoes through the hollow passages; the stairs are blocked by dirty children—and the life of any decent hard-working family becomes intolerable.

The very same evils are nothing like as injurious where the families are more separate, so that while in smaller houses one can often try difficult tenants with real hope of their doing better, it is wholly impossible usually to try, or to train them, in blocks. The temptations are greater, the evils of relapse far greater. It is like taking a bad girl into a school.

Hence the enormous importance of keeping a large number of small houses *wherever it be possible* for the better training of the rowdy, and the protection of the quiet and gentle, and I would implore well-meaning landlords to pause before they clear away small houses and erect blocks with any idea of benefitting the poorer class of people. The change may be inevitable, it may have to come, but as they value the life of our poorer fellow-citizens, let them pause before they throw them into a corporate life for which they are *not* ready, and which will, so far as I can see, not train them to be ready for it. Let them either ask tidy working people they know, or learn for themselves, whether I am not right in saying that in the shabbiest little two-, four-, six-, or eight-roomed house, with all the water to carry upstairs, with one little w.c. in a tiny back yard, with perhaps one dust-bin at the end of the court, and even perhaps with a dark little twisted staircase, there are not far happier, better, yes and *healthier* homes than in the blocks where lower-class people share and do *not* keep in order far better appliances.

And let them look the deeper into this in so far as our reformers who trust to inspection for all education, our would-be philanthropists or newspaper correspondents, who visit once a court or block, and think they have *seen* it, even our painstaking statisticians who catalogue what can be

catalogued, are unable to deal with these facts. Those who know the life of the poor, know,—those who watch the effect of letting to a given family a set of rooms in a block in a rough neighbourhood, or rooms in a small house in the same districts, know,—those who remember how numerous are the kinds of people to whom they must refuse rooms in a block for their own sake, or that of others, know. To the noisy drunkard one must say, “For the quiet people’s sake, No”; to the weak drunkard one must say, “You would get led away, No”; to the young widow with children one must say, “Would you not be better in a small house where the resident landlady would see a little to the children”? thinking in one’s heart also, “and to you”; to the orphaned factory girl who would “like to keep mother’s home together,” one feels a less public life safer; for the quiet family who care to bring up their children well, one fears the bad language and gambling on the stairs. For the strong and self-contained and self-reliant it may be all right, but the instinct of the others who cling on to the smaller houses is right for them.

For after all the “home,” the “life” does not depend on the number of appliances, or even in any deep sense on the sanitary arrangements. I heard a working-man say once, with some coarseness but with much truth, “Gentlemen think if they put a water-closet to every room they have made a home of it,” and the remark often recurs to me for the element of truth there is in it, and there is more decency in many a tiny little cottage in Southwark, shabby as it may be,—more family life in many a one room let to a family, than in many a populous block. And this is due to two causes, partly the comparative peace of the more separate home; it seems as if a certain amount of quiet and even of isolation made family-life and neighbourly kindness more possible. People become brutal in large numbers who are gentle when they are in smaller groups and know



one another, and the life in a block only becomes possible when there is a deliberate isolation of the family, and a sense of duty with respect to all that is in common. The low-class people herd on the staircases and corrupt one another, where those a little higher would withdraw into their little sanctum. But in their own little house, or as lodgers in a small house, the lower class people get the individual feeling and notice which often trains them in humanity.

What the future will be for these wilder people I often wonder. It may be that some landlords will be wise enough to keep small houses standing for a time till the undisciplined are more trained; it may be that the gradual progress of educational and other influences may permeate their ranks and mould them morally as well as educationally (but of this I am not hopeful if they are herded together in blocks); it may be that some form of self-government, some committee of the tenants, may be arranged to organize and bring to bear the standard and rule of the better men and women (but it is difficult to think such an organization would be possible just where it is most needed, *i.e.* in the lower-class blocks); it may be that more and more of such ladies as are helping me will be trained and enrolled by the directors or owners, and form a link between the tidy tenants and those who have control, a cheer and support to lonely resident caretakers, and a permeating influence for right and purity through the blocks.

Whatever be the way out of the difficulty, let us hope that it may come before great evil is done by the massing together of herds of untrained people, and by the ghastly abuse of staircases open all night, but not under police inspection, not easily inspected even if nominally so placed. The problem is one we ought all, so far as in us lies, to lay to heart, and do what we can to solve.

I have not dwelt here on what may be called the "sentimental" objection to blocks, the purity of family life being recognised, even by those who trust most to inspection,



as a necessity. But there is a sentimental objection which is felt by many to blocks. It is not confined to blocks for working people, though as their town home is their only home it affects them most. It arises, I think, mainly from two causes, the extreme difficulty, not to say impossibility, of giving to a block home that stamp of individuality which most other homes take from the life of the family that dwells in it, and the power of developing the individual life. The creepers in the back yard, the rabbits the boys feed, the canary the sickly child listens to, the shed for the man's tools, the washing arrangements, or the arbour, are all arranged to suit individual tastes, and for all these the separate house, or the small house, gives scope. In the block even the perambulator may be a difficulty, pets are impossible, even the nail for the funeral card or photograph of the son in Egypt, must be put, if at all, on the picture rail. The dweller in towns, however, must sacrifice much for the privileges he obtains, and he must accept the law of considering his neighbour rather by sacrifice of his individual joy, than by development of individual varied capacity. One feels the men thus trained may be meek, well-ordered, but will not be original nor all-round trained men. One can only note the danger and watch for any way of obviating it in some degree. The first sentimental objection to the block life is the small scope it gives for individual freedom. The second is its painful ugliness and uninterestingness in external look which is nearly connected with the first. For difference is at least interesting and amusing, monotony never. Let us hope that when we have secured our drainage, our cubic space of air, our water on every floor, we may have time to live in our homes, to think how to make them pretty, each in our own way, and to let the individual characteristics they take from our life in them be all good as well as healthy and beautiful, because all human work and life were surely meant to be like all Divine creations, lovely as well as good.

## (3.) SKETCH OF LIFE IN BUILDINGS.

Life in "Buildings," we may say, depends more on the class of inhabitants than on structural arrangements. It is curious, on the principle of "like to like," how quickly a Building forms for itself a certain character—Jews' Buildings, rowdy Buildings, genteel Buildings, &c., all being estimated as such by public opinion. And public criticism, it may be added, resting on strong prejudices, may be trusted to define sharply and to perpetuate the distinctions between the tenants of different Buildings. Racial prejudices keep the Christians apart from the Jews, and a taste for cleanliness or for quietness determines folk who can afford to indulge it to spend a little more on rent for the sake of mixing with those who are "particular," and who "keep themselves to themselves."

T. Buildings, where I lived for a year, is a pretty red brick building, with five storeys of tenements, two sides of a square, and enclosing a good-sized asphalted court. My dwelling consisted of two tiny rooms, about 9 ft. square, opening into one another. The front door, with its separate number and knocker, opens out of the front room into a common open balcony; and the back door out of the back room into a tiny private balcony, about a yard or so square, leading to the sink, &c. These little balconies are often turned to good account with flower boxes and hanging baskets, and one woman had rigged up a pigeon-house, and kept pigeons very successfully there. Each tenement is complete in itself, except for the want of a tap; to fetch water the tenants have to take their buckets to a common tap on each balcony. Though so small, the rooms are fresh and very clean, brightly coloured and painted once every year. The asphalted court provides a large and safe playground for the children, and the flat roof is utilized for washhouses and a drying ground. Each tenant is bound in turn to clean and whiten a part of the balcony and stairs,

and each in turn on her fixed day enjoys the use of a wash-house and the roof to dry her clothes. These common rights and duties lead, of course, to endless contention. (I may quote the remark of a neighbour on the ferocity of the combatants in a washing-day dispute: "Why, they'd tear you to pieces; bull-dogs I call 'em.") In the summer, T. Buildings was very pretty, with its red bricks and white stairs and balconies and flowers in most of the windows.

S. Buildings, in which I also lived for nearly a year, was on a much larger scale, and the rents were higher. The tenants were of the most varied description. The Buildings were in the form of a quadrangle, enclosing a very large asphalted square; a few miserable shrubs flourished, or rather decayed, in the centre. The various tenements opened on steep ill-lighted staircases and dark narrow corridors; the rooms inside were a great improvement on those in T. Buildings, large and well-fitted with every convenience; but in spite of advantages in this respect, S. Buildings could not compare with my former quarters. I am convinced that nothing is of more importance to the inhabitants of towns than light and colour; T. Buildings is built to admit as much air and sunshine as possible; S. Buildings to exclude them; and I think the great difference I noticed in the cheerfulness and temper of the children must have been largely due to this cause.

The very large number of tenements (200 to 300) destroyed the feeling of neighbourly responsibility and interest which was strong in T. Buildings; and the narrow resounding passages and stairs made domestic disputes and crying children more disagreeably prominent.

The character of a Building is also largely influenced by the character of the caretaker in charge, and in this respect S. Buildings was unlucky. If indifferent order is kept, and the few regulations are not enforced, the convenience of the majority has to give way to the small element in every



community who are entitled to the name of public nuisances.

A short sketch of an average day in T. Buildings will give some idea of the way of life.

At 5 o'clock in the morning I hear the tenant overhead, Mr. A., getting up for his day's work. His wife, who does a little dressmaking when she can get it from her neighbours, was up late last night (I heard her sewing-machine going till 1 o'clock), so he does not disturb her. He is a carman at the Goods Dépôt of a Railway Company, and has to be there at 6 o'clock, so he is not long getting his breakfast of tea and bread and butter. But before he has done, I hear a child cry; then the sound of a sleepy voice, Mrs. A., recommending a sip of tea and a crust for the baby. The man, I suppose, carries out the order, for the crying ceases, and I hear his steps as he goes downstairs. At eight o'clock there is a good deal of scraping and raking on the other side of the wall. This means that my neighbour, Mrs. B., an old woman partly supported by her dead husband's savings, partly by the earnings of two grown-up daughters, is raking out and cleaning her stove. Then the door is opened, the dust is thrown down the dust-shoot, and a conversation is very audibly carried on by two female voices. Among other topics, is the favourite one of Mrs. A.'s laziness in the morning—though Mrs. B. knows perfectly well that Mrs. A. has been up late at work, having indeed repeatedly complained of the noise of the sewing-machine at night, and though Mrs. C. openly avows that she will not say anything against Mrs. A., as she has always been very nice to her.

At half-past eight I hear the eldest child of the A. family lighting the fire and dressing her two little brothers for school. With the departure of the children there is a lull. At ten Mrs. A. gets up, and at eleven she sallies out to make sundry purchases. Before she goes, however, Mrs.



A. has a brisk gossip on her threshold with Mrs. C., the tram-conductor's wife, who has looked in to return the head of a loaf borrowed on the previous Sunday night. In the dialogue, which lasts more than five minutes, I hear Mrs. B.'s name repeated a good many times, and catch also the phrase "spiteful old cat," and I believe that Mrs. B.'s remarks at 8 o'clock are being now repeated with Mrs. C.'s artistic variations.

Soon after twelve there is a great hubbub of children's laughter and shrieking in the courtyard under my window. The children have returned from school and they seem to have a good deal of fun together till we begin to hear the mothers calling them in to dinner.

In the afternoon a certain torpor falls upon the Buildings, only broken by the jingling cans and cat-calls of the afternoon milk-boys. But this is the favourite time for the women to call upon one another, and I can catch various fragments of conversation relating to the bad turn Mrs. D.'s illness is taking, to the uncalled-for visit of the curate to a lady who dislikes curates, to the shocking temper of little Maggie (Mrs. C.'s child), who is reported to be the tease and torment of all the children in the place. Looking out of window I do not see the unhappy Maggie, but find myself watching instead a spirited game of cricket between four girls on one side and three boys on the other. The wickets are chalked up against the wall and a soft ball is used. The game, however, collapses, for the boys, who are smaller than their opponents, refuse to go on, saying "it isn't fair," and the girls retire triumphant, but disgusted.

At 6 o'clock a row in the street calls a crowd of the inhabitants out on to the balconies, where we can look down exactly as from boxes in a theatre on to the stage. The parties to the quarrel are a man and his wife in a distinctly lower walk of life (like all the inhabitants of houses in the street) than any of the tenants of the Buildings. They are eventually separated after much "old English" on both

sides. The general impression among the spectators is in favour of the man, but the incident is soon forgotten.

Very soon after, various savoury smells begin to float out on to the landings. The favourite meal of the day, the "tea," is being prepared against the husband's return. All is comparative peace and harmony, the children's hands are washed, the room is tidied, and the cloth laid. The A.'s have sprats, as I have good reason to know. Mrs. A. is aware of my partiality for this fish, and in a neighbourly spirit sends me in a plateful by her most careful child, from whom I learn that Mrs. D. is much worse and wandering in her head, and that "mother is going to sit up with her." Mrs. D.'s husband is a night watchman, so he is at hand by day to look after her, and the neighbours are taking turns to nurse her at night.

In the evening some of the men go out to the neighbouring "Club" and sing songs or talk politics, one or two drop into the bar of the favourite "pub," but the majority simply stay at home with the wife and children. Mr. A., the carman, is essentially a family man, and he makes a point of going through some gymnastic tricks with his boys and putting them to bed. Occasionally he receives a visit from a mate, but this is rare; and generally he retires not later than 9.30. Mr. C., the tram-conductor, has a liking for the *Star*, and reads aloud striking passages after tea.

A not unfrequent incident in S. Buildings about midnight or later would not have been tolerated in T. Buildings. A man there on several occasions went to bed and locked out his wife, who returned home doubtfully sober. To her repeated knocks and entreaties, he maintained a sullen silence; then exasperated she thumped and kicked at the door, screaming, and rejoiced when a sarcasm at last evoked a reply. The whole side of the Building must have been awakened, but nobody made the least sign; it was not etiquette. In T. Buildings the quarrelling was more decent; such disturbances would lead to general complaints of the offenders, and they would soon be expelled.

The advantages of living in Buildings in my opinion far outweigh the drawbacks. Cheapness, a higher standard of cleanliness, healthy sanitary arrangements, neighbourly intercourse both between children and between the grown-up people, and, perhaps above all, the impossibility of being overlooked altogether, or flagrantly neglected by relatives in illness or old age, seem to be the great gains; and the chief disadvantage, the absence of privacy and the increased facility for gossip and quarrelling, though it may sometimes be disagreeably felt, introduces a constant variety of petty interest and personal feeling into the monotony of daily life.

---

#### (4.) SAMPLE BLOCKS.

Examples follow of blocks of each colour on the map (from dark blue to pink) with information as to their inhabitants obtained from the clergy or from rent collectors.

#### DARK BLUE.

GINGER STREET BUILDINGS (Group II.—Light, fair; sanitation, bad).

There are three blocks of these dwellings all similar in construction. In each there are four floors, viz. ground floor and three above. The roof is flat and reached by a staircase. It is intended for use as a drying ground. On each floor there are seven tenements, six of which contain two rooms each, and the other is a one-room tenement. The staircases are very dark and steep; the water supply is intermittent owing to defective fittings; altogether the dwellings are very undesirable habitations, but they are the property of a professedly philanthropic company whose object it is to provide suitable workmen's dwellings. Their buildings in other parts of London are of similar character.

*First block. Lower floor.*—Tenement No. 1 is occupied by Williams, a labourer, who is laid up with rheumatism. He has



a wife and four young children, three of whom are at school and all are sickly. These people are very poor. In No. 2 lives Paxey, a tailor, helped by his wife, who is also caretaker of the block. They have their rooms rent free. There are six children, three at work and three at school. Are comfortably off. No. 3, a single room, is occupied by a young couple who have but just come. Seem respectable and comfortable. No. 4 is empty. In No. 5 there is Sweeny, a labourer, with wife and four children. Poor, but not very poor: don't want charity. No. 6 is occupied by Rowe, who is ill and out of work. His wife also does no work. They have no children but are in great distress. Would have preferred a one-roomed tenement, but none were to be had. No. 7 is the washhouse.

Passing to the *first floor* we find No. 8 empty, the occupant having lately left. At No. 9 is Byrne, a labourer, in good work, with his big boy at work and four younger children at school. His wife does no regular work. This family are comfortably off. At No. 10 is Ormond, another labourer, with wife and four children. Poor, but not of the poorest. In No. 11 lives Towers, a waterside labourer, who used to do better work and does not do well at this; his wife does fur pulling, but has been very ill. Went hopping and she took cold, and has been ill ever since. One boy is at work and three children at school. A big girl is kept at home to mind the little ones. Deserving, sober people. Very poor indeed. No. 12 is empty. In No. 13 lives North, a labourer, doing very little, with wife and one sick child. Extremely poor. No. 14 is occupied by Haresfoot, another labourer, doing little. His wife makes hassocks. A big girl helps her mother, and there are two children at school. The man is very deaf and drinks a great deal. The wife went hopping and took all the children with her. While she was away the man was drinking, and let the rent run on, so she had the back rent to pay when she came home.

On the *second floor*, No. 15, lives an old man who makes toys and such things out of bits of wood, working at home. A friend lives and works with him, and has a daughter of fourteen. These people are not communicative, but have every appearance of great poverty. No. 16 is empty. In No. 17, lives Sutton, a labourer, with pretty regular work, but he drinks and so they



are poor. His wife does fur pulling, the eldest girl helps her mother, three other children are at school. No. 18 is occupied by O'Neal, a labourer, whose wife does machining at home. Comfortable and steady young people. Three children at school. In No. 19 lives Blade, a labourer, earning fair wages, but the woman is a bad manager. There are four children, two at work, one at school, and a baby. Not much comfort, but pay their way when the man is at work. The wife does not work. In No. 20, is Ralton, another labourer, whose wife works out. They have one boy at school, and just get along when the man is in work.

On the *third floor* at No. 22 lives Dempsey, a labourer, whose wife also goes out to work, but not regularly—sometimes a few days in a week. They have a big boy at work, four children at school, and an infant. Get along fairly well. No. 23 is empty, was occupied by O'Neal, who is now at No. 18. In No. 24 (one room) live a man, wife, and three children. He is a porter, but very delicate and consumptive, and has been in the infirmary. His wife meanwhile had out relief. There are three young children. The room is clean, but with hardly a stick in it. These people have been better off. At No. 25 live Mr. and Mrs. Connolly, an old couple, neither of whom work. They are not very poor, and probably have grown-up children who look after them. No. 26 is empty. No. 27 is occupied by Davis, a man out of work. His wife is a well-educated woman, but much degraded by drink. There are two grown-up sons at work, and two children at school. The men dare not give the woman any money, and are afraid to leave anything in the place lest she should pawn it while they are out. In No. 28 lives Packington, a waterside labourer, with wife, one boy at work, and four children at school. The children have no boots, but they have food. The man worked at Liverpool during the strikes, and when he returned was outlawed and could get no work here. He then took to picture-frame making. Can turn to anything, and gets along.

In the second block, at No. 1, lives Morris, a casual labourer, whose wife does embroidery, and can earn a good bit at times, perhaps about 10s a week, but they have very little furniture and are very poor. There are four or five children.

## LIGHT BLUE.

CONNAUGHT BUILDINGS (Group I.—Light, fair ; sanitation good).

These buildings present one end to the main thoroughfare, and their back, or front, whichever it may best be called, looks upon an open flagged footway ; not wide enough for vehicles. In the centre of this frontage is the only entrance, through a door of little more than ordinary size giving access to a passage which running through and under the building leads to an open courtyard, common to all the inhabitants, but in effect quite private from the rest of the world. In the centre of the frontage towards the court, close beside the entrance passage, a single flight of stairs leads to the upper storeys. The stairs are pretty good and the landings roomy, and from each a balcony extends right and left the whole extent of the building. On to these balconies the tenements open.

No. 1 is occupied by an old man who gets his living as a hawker, taking his stand near the Bank of England. In No. 2 his son lives with wife and two young children. He also is a City hawker, selling studs, pencils, &c., in Lombard Street. His wife helps by charing and washing. At No. 3 is a painter with wife and five children. A soft simple sort of fellow, generally out of work. The family have a very hard time of it. In No. 4 lives a woman of some property, without family. She was for many years a prostitute, and finally married an old man who has since died leaving her his money. With it she purchased a house in her old haunts, near Drury Lane, and lets it in furnished rooms to girls. No. 5 is occupied by the caretaker of the buildings. His wife sells crosses. No. 6 to 10 are empty. In No. 11 lives a man working at wall-paper trimming. Not able to do very much work. Wife goes out office cleaning. One boy goes out with a van. No. 12 is occupied

by Oliver, a labourer, and his wife, both Roman Catholics. At No. 13 is Mrs. Gregory, a widow, who earns her living by selling laces, ribbons, &c., down areas. No. 14 is occupied by Cutter, a gardener's labourer, working in one of the parks. No. 15 by Martin, a Roman Catholic, a night watchman. At No. 16 is Hitchcock, a labourer, whose wife does nothing but drink. No. 17 is occupied by the Cranburns. All the family work at home, making paper flowers, whips, &c., which they sell at school treats, &c. In No. 18 is Mrs. Hill, a widow who goes out nursing but is helped by charity. At No. 19 lives Mrs. Stapleton, a Roman Catholic widow, who is practically supported by charity; and at No. 20 Mrs. Stanford, another widow, also helped by charity. No. 21 is the home of a blind beggar. No. 22 is occupied by a knife grinder, who has his regular beat. His wife sells flowers, and they have seven children, all young—a very decent family. At No. 23 lives Emson, a man who goes out regularly to work. At No. 24 there is Beaton a one-legged man, a night-watchman by trade but going out sometimes with a piano organ. In No. 25 lives a deserted woman, whose husband could not live with her on account of her drinking, quarrelsome habits. She works at a clothing factory. No. 26 is occupied by Granger a sober, decent married man, doing responsible work. At No. 27 is Antonelli, an Italian often out of work. His wife is English, and employed in office cleaning. At No. 28 is Mrs. Purkis, a widow with her daughter—Roman Catholics, receiving help from the priests. At No. 29 is a widow woman living alone. At No. 30 Turner, a labourer with a large family—Roman Catholics. Bradley and his wife live at No. 31. Both keep coffee stalls, going out very early every morning. Manage to live pretty comfortably. Mrs. Mullins, a widow, lives at No. 32; she keeps a little shop on the ground floor. Sells groceries, candles, &c., to the people in the Buildings. At No. 33 Bangle, a labourer, his wife and six children live. He is always out of work; supported by his wife, who has evening employment cleaning offices in the City. The two eldest boys work on Pickford's vans and another sells evening papers. At No. 34 is McDonald, an army accoutrement maker, his wife and several children. The whole family used to work together at home, the younger ones doing the lighter part of the



work. This has been stopped by a recent Act of Parliament, and all the work has to be done at the factory. No. 35 is occupied by Mrs. Prince, a widow with two children. Her husband drank himself to death. She supports the children by charing. At No. 36 is Mr. Lupind, a cobbler, and his wife. She does office cleaning. At No. 37 is Flood, a law writer; good workman, but drinks heavily. His wife sells flowers in the street: does very well at it, being helped by her brother. No. 38 is occupied by Balby, a shoemaker; was engaged to teach shoemaking to the boys at the Ragged School. At No. 39, Tonner, a labourer—Roman Catholic. No. 40 is occupied by Pannier, a labourer, wife and two young children. At No. 41 is O'Grady, a porter at the Co-operative Stores. At No. 42 is Gathercole, a widow, who makes her living by street singing; has a boy, who runs errands. No. 43 is occupied by Mrs. Black, a widow; has a small pension from a charity. Another widow, Mrs. Doughty, lives at No. 44; works at a clothing factory and has parish relief occasionally. At No. 45 is Bead, a paralysed man, wife and two children of his own, and wife has two nurse children. No. 46 is occupied by Chambers, a market porter. At No. 47 is Baldry; used to be a carman, but has injured his leg: wife supports him and two children by washing. Mrs. Collard, a widow with three young children, lives at No. 48; does cooking or charing; very decent woman. Her mother lives at No. 49; has a small pension from a charity and gets parish relief occasionally. No. 50 is occupied by Miss Colbert goes out charing—Roman Catholic. At No. 51, Mrs. Wilkins, a widow, lives; has grown up children, who are very respectable and help keep her. No. 52 is empty. In No. 53, Mulligan, a labourer, lives—Roman Catholic. Next door, No. 54, is another Roman Catholic family; drink a great deal. At No. 55 is Mrs. Blakey, a widow with three children. Is out all day charing and office cleaning. Maldred, a labourer, lives at No. 56 with his wife and several children. At No. 57 is a widow and her grown-up son, who supports her. They are Roman Catholics. No. 58 is occupied by Caldry, a labourer out of work; has wife and six children. Eldest girl goes to work. Lorwell, a bootmaker, wife and one child, lives at No. 59. Man does repairing. Decent family.



# CHATHAM DWELLINGS (Group I.—Light, good ; sanitation, good).

Situate in a confined court, access to these dwellings is gained by a passage through the block, opening into a yard at the back. The staircase is wide and leads to open balconies on each of the three upper floors. On each balcony there is a sink and water tap, and on intermediate landings the closets, one for each tenement. The light is good, as, although the back yard is narrow, it adjoins the playground of a neighbouring school. The dwellings are well superintended and kept very clean and neat. Nearly all the tenements are single roomed; rents varying from 3s to 4s.

No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers.	Class.	Occupants	Remarks
1	ground	1	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 young children.	Bricklayer, casual work. Wife is a scrubber at an hospital; earns 10s.
2	„	1	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Bricklayer, very casual. Girl and boy at work, and girl at school.
3	„	1	1	(C)	Widow.	Has a mangle. Daughter just gone to service.
4	„	1	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 young children.	Brushmaker, wife helps. Comfortable.
5	„	1	3	(D)	Widow and 2 children.	Woman has a small allowance. Big boy loafs about, and other child goes to school.
6	„	1	4	(C)	Widower, 2 children, and wife's mother.	Drover. Earns good money when at work, but has a bad leg. Woman makes slippers.
7	„	1	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Casual market porter. Wife makes slippers. Two children go to school.
8	„	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Cowman, regular work. Children under five.
9	first	1	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Engine driver, regular work, 28s.
10	„	1	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Cabinet-maker, irregular. Two children go to school.
11	„	1	4	(C)	Man, wife, daughter and child.	Tailor. Wife goes out nursing. Daughter a machinist. Very poor in winter.
12	„	1	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Tailor. Child at school and a baby.
13	„	1	3	(C)	Two widows and a child.	Mother and daughter. Both do crochet work.

## PURPLE.

LYDON SQUARE (Group I.—Light, very good ; sanitation, good).

These buildings consist of four large blocks, built on the four sides of a quadrangle, enclosing a large asphalted yard, which is used as a playground. Each block has six floors, the upper being almost entirely taken by the washhouses and drying ground belonging to the tenements below. A staircase in the middle of each block leads to a long passage on each floor into which the tenement doors open. At each end of these passages the water supply and other sanitary accommodation is placed. Rents are low, ranging from 2s for one room to 4s 6d for three rooms.

No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers.	Class.		
1	ground	3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Labourer ; regular, 24s. Son (18) at work ; two children under five years.
2	„	2	3	(D)	Man, wife, and daughter.	Man, a labourer, is infirm. Wife and daughter support him by tailoring.
3	„	2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Porter at perfumers. Regular, 23s. Children are young.
4	„	1	1	(E)	Single man.	Porter ; regular, 27s.
5	„	1	2	(D)	Two sisters.	Support themselves by needlework.
6	„	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Labourer, regular ; wife does needlework.
7	„	2	3	(D)	Widow and 2 children.	Tailoress, when in good work earns 18s. Children go to school.
8	„	2	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Regular labourer ; wife a tailoress.
9	„	3	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Blacksmith ; regular, 30s. Three children under thirteen years.
10	„	3	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Waterman, regular. Boy (16) in a shop, 8s. Others under thirteen years.
11	„	2	3	(E)	Man, wife, and child.	Blacksmith, regular. Child under five years.
12	„	2	3	(E)	Man, wife, and daughter.	Labourer, regular. Daughter at biscuit works.
13	„	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Porter at Post-office. Children at school.

No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers.	Class.		
14	ground	2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Labourer, regular. Children under seven years.
15	„	1	2	(C)	Widower and son.	Casual labourer. Son also a labourer.
16	„	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Policeman. Children under ten years.
17	„	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Seaman. One child goes to school.
18	„	2	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Seaman. Two children go to school. Others too young.
19	„	3	4	(F)	Man, wife, and 2 sons.	Waterman. One son a coachbuilder; other at iron foundry.
20	„	3	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Man works on a steam dredger. Two boys are at oil shops. One goes to school.
21	„	2	5	(F)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Brass finisher, regular. Children under seven years.
22	„	2	2	(E)	Widower and daughter.	Seaman. Daughter a tailoress.
23	„	2	1	(E)	Man.	Army pensioner, and drill instructor at schools.
24	„	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Stevedore, regular. Wife does cleaning. Children go to school.
25	„	1	1	(E)	Single man.	Cooper, regular.
26	„	1	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Engine driver; about 28s.
27	„	2	2	(D)	Widow and daughter.	Both do needlework.
28	„	3	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Bricklayer. Wife does washing. Three children at school and two infants.
29	„	3	4	(D)	Widower, son, and 2 daughters.	Casual labourer. Son ropemaker; daughters are tailoresses.
30	„	2	3	(D)	Widow, son, and grandson.	Widow chars. Son (25) is a clerk. Woman at No. 37 minds the child.
31	„	2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Printer; not much work. Children under five years.
32	„	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Waterman, regular work.
33	„	2	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Labourer. Wife works when she can.
34	„	1	2	(D)	Man and wife.	Labourer. Wife chars.
35	„	2	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Labourer. Wife a tailoress. Girl at school; other child too young.
36	„	2	2	(C)	Widower and daughter.	Tailor, eighty years old. Daughter, a tailoress, supports.

FERNDALE BUILDINGS (Group I.—Light, fair; sanitation, bad).

A large five-storeyed block, fronting on a narrow and closely built street. The entrance is by an archway at each end of the block opening into an asphalted yard at the back. The upper tenements are reached by balconies on each floor, extending along the back of the building. The water supply and closets are placed on the landings of the staircases. Washhouses are in the yard, which serves the double purpose of a drying yard and playground. Most of the tenements are single rooms, let at rents varying from 2s to 3s 6d. Two-roomed dwellings let at 5s 6d to 6s 6d, and three rooms at 8s 6d.

No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers.	Class.		
1	ground	1	3	(D)	Man, wife, and young child.	Street sweeper; regular. 20s.
2	"	3	7	(F)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Carpenter; regular. Wife has mangle. Son (20) is an engraver; girl (17) at work; boy (14) runs errands.
3	"	1	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Carman, 20s. Wife cleans offices. Boy works with van.
4	"	1	5	(D)	Man, wife, son, and 2 young children.	Old soldier; has pension, £6 a year. Wife nurses occasionally. Son (23) a carman.
5	"	1	1	(D)	Telegraph boy.	Earns 8s. Lives alone. Mother a housekeeper.
6	"	1	1	(B)	Widow.	Has a pension, £6 a year. Cannot work. Is helped.
7	"	1	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Bricklayer. Out of work in the winter.
8	"	1	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Paper presser; regular. Comfortable.
9	"	1	3	(E)	Man, wife, and young child.	Seaman. Sends money to wife when away.
10	"	1	1	(C)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Casual labourer. Loafs about when wool sales are not on.
11	"	1	1	(B)	Old woman.	Widow, does odd jobs; mainly supported by charity.
12	"	1	—	—		Empty.
13	"	1	2	(C)	Old couple.	Man buys at sales and resells. Was a sailor. Seems poor.
14	"	1	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Stevedore, in regular work; over £2 a week. Wife drinks.



No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers.	Class.		
15	ground	1	3	(C)	Man, wife, and son.	Both do any odd jobs they can get. Boy works at cork cutter's. Stevedore. Wife drinks. Two girls earn 5s a week each.
16	"	2	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Messenger. One-armed man. Wife gets charity.
17	"	1	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Son, a carman, earns 18s; mother makes sacks.
18	"	1	2	(D)	Widow and son.	Watchman, 20s; makes a little besides. One situation for 30 years.
19	"	2	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Tailor. Wife helps. Earns 24s to 30s.
20	"	1	3	(E)	Man, wife, and infant.	Empty.
21	first	1	—	—	—	Tailor; out of work. Helped by friends.
22	"	1	2	(B)	Man and wife.	Needlework. Helped by friends. Very poor.
23	"	1	1	(B)	Widow.	Labourer. Regular, £1. Wife chars occasionally.
24	"	1	3	(D)	Man, wife, and child.	Ironworker. Improvident and very poor.
25	"	1	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Empty.
26	"	1	—	—	—	Watchman. Son (18) at work; girl at home; two children at school.
27	"	2	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Empty.
28	"	2	—	—	—	Carman, £1 a week.
29	"	2	3	(D)	Man, wife, and child.	Empty.
30	"	1	—	—	—	Porter; regular. Earns 20s.
31	"	1	4	(D)	Man, wife, and 2 young children.	Tailor; good work; comfortable.
32	"	2	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Packing-case maker; earns about 20s.
33	"	1	3	(D)	Man, wife, and infant.	Casual labourer. Very poor.
34	"	1	7	(B)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Steamboat porter; irregular. Wife makes umbrella tassels.
35	second	1	3	(C)	Man, wife, and young child.	Market porter. Poor.
36	"	2	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	General labourer; seldom works. Wife covers umbrellas and girl helps. Another girl makes fancy boxes; boy in post-office, 8s.
37	"	2	7	(C)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Empty.
38	"	2	—	—	—	Man was a collector; has given it up. Drinks. Looks very respectable.
39	"	2	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	

## GROVE BUILDINGS (Group I.—Light, good; sanitation, good).

These Buildings consist of several five-storeyed blocks; on each staircase there are twenty-four tenements, five on a floor, except the lowest. Washhouses are provided on each landing for the tenants on the floor, and adjoining there are the sinks and other sanitary conveniences. Occupying an irregular area, hemmed in by warehouses and railways, the blocks of dwellings are placed so as to obtain the maximum amount of light, and contrast strongly with the regularity usually seen in the disposition of buildings. They are well managed; the yard and staircases being kept scrupulously clean. Rents vary from 3s to 5s 9d per week.

No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers.	Class.		
1	ground	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, daughter, and niece.	Carman for Pickford. Daughter at work. Niece at school.
2	„	3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 young children.	Policeman. One child goes to school.
3	„	3	3	(E)	Man, wife, and child.	Messenger in Government office. Comfortable.
4	„	2	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Wine porter. Regular work.
5	first	2	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Policeman.
6	„	3	9	(C)	Man, wife, 6 children, and wife's mother.	Compositor. Has been ill. Boy (13) at work. Poor.
7	„	1	2	(C)	Widow and child.	Charing. Child at school. Has a daughter in service.
8	„	2	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Lockman; regular. Three children at school.
9	„	2	5	(B)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Upholsterer, out of work. Two children at school, and a baby.
10	second	2	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Engine driver; regular. Two children at school.
11	„	3	9	(B)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Journeyman baker; 24s. Five children at school. Very poor.
12	„	1	4	(B)	Widow and 3 children.	Tailoress; girl (14) helps. Others at school.
13	„	2	5	(D)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Tailor, earns about 23s. Children are young.
14	„	2	3	(E)	Man, wife, and daughter.	Customs officer. Girl (16) at work.

No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers.	Class.		
15	third	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Carpenter ; irregular. Boy (14) at work ; others at school. Poor.
16	„	3	6	(F)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	“ Jiggerman ; ” regular work. Two sons (21 and 13) at work ; others at school.
17	„	1	2	(D)	Two sisters.	Tobacco strippers. Earn about 17s between them.
18	„	2	2	(C)	Old couple.	Man a tailor. Irish.
19	„	2	2	(C)	Old couple.	Man a tailor. Similar circumstances to man next door. Irish.
20	fourth	2	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Policeman.
21	„	3	8	(E)	Man, wife, and 6 children.	Tailor ; regular work. Boy (14) at work ; others at school.
22	„	1	2	(C)	Man and wife.	Irregular labourer, Makes about 20s.
23	„	2	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Packer ; regular. Three children at school.
24	„	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Japanner ; earns about 30s.
25	ground	2	2	(B)	Two sisters.	One is a widow and goes out as a servant. Both are over 60 years.
26	„	3	6	(D)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Wool sampler ; £1 a week ; at sale times 30s.
27	„	3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Compositor. Two children at school.
28	„	2	2	(D)	Man and daughter.	Bootmaker. Wife in asylum ; husband has to help support her. Daughter (23) keeps the home.
29	first	2	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 young children.	Horsekeeper ; irregular. 22s a week, when in work.
30	„	3	7	(D)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Labourer ; regular. Wife chars. Boy and girl at work.
31	„	1	3	(D)	Widow and 2 daughters.	Widow is an office cleaner. The daughters (16 and 18) help.
32	„	2	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Policeman. One child at school.
33	„	2	2	(B)	Man and wife.	Tailor ; seldom has work ; very old ; 86 and 83 years respectively.
34	second	3	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Farrier ; irregular. Wife chars. Two children at school, and an infant. Two grown-up children live away.
35	„	1	1	(B)	Widow.	Does needlework. Old and very poor.

## PINK.

MARTYR SQUARE (Group III.—Light, very good; sanitation, good).

This place is nice in its way, and somewhat peculiar. It is built upon three sides of a square, or rather oblong. The buildings are only 14 ft. from back to front, the clear space from side to side is 50 ft. The open side is railed off from the street, a small cross street. The closed side backs into the houses in the main thoroughfare. The only entrance is through a gate in the railings, which may be closed at night, the caretaker living on the ground floor within call. The space between the dwellings is occupied by a raised garden or rockery resting on the roofs of the coal cellars, &c. There are six staircases, two on each side and one in each corner at the end. The stairs are small, narrow and winding, being arranged to cut as little as possible into the 14 ft. of room. They lead to a little balcony on each of the three upper floors, and on to these balconies give the doors of the tenements, two to each balcony, eight to each staircase—forty-eight in all. The top floor is lightened to the eye by being built “dormer” fashion. There appear to be arrangements for laundry work, &c., in the rear of the end block.

No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers	Class.		
1	ground	3	4	(F)	Man, wife and 2 sons.	Rent collector, very deaf. Wife does the work. Sons are grown up and are at work.
2	„	3	6	(F)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Brass-finisher. Three children going to school, and a baby.
3	first	3	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Foreman at coalyard. Wife goes to service occasionally.
4	„	3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Warehouse porter, in hospital with bad leg. Daughter is a trained nurse; son just gone to work. One child at school. Wife delicate.
5	second	3	2	(F)	Man and wife.	Foreman painter. Comfortable.
6		3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Man drives a tobacco-nist's cart. Two children go to school, third is a baby. Tidy and comfortable.



No.	Floor.	Rms.	Pers.	Class.		
7	third	3	4	(D)	Widow, brother, sister, and baby.	Widow, looks after the house and gets 5s a week for the baby's keep. Brother and sister go to work; latter is epileptic and cannot do much.
	„	3	6	(E)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Carpenter. Wife makes buttonholes. Two children go to school, others are infants. Wife is a bad manager.
9	ground	3	4	(E)	Man, wife, son, and daughter.	Jobbing gardener. Wife cleans a chapel. Son is in post-office and daughter is a mantle maker. Man has little work.
10	„	3	5	(C)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Reporter and book canvasser; seldom has work; drinks heavily; poor; used to be comfortable.
11	first	3	3	(F)	Widow and 2 sons.	Husband was a jeweller. Sons are in regular work. Comfortable.
12	„	3	5	(F)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Compositor, regular. Two children go to school. Tidy and comfortable.
13	second	3	4	(E)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Porter, regular work.
14	„	3	4	(E)	Widow, son, and 2 daughters.	Widow goes out nursing; son, a cook, often out of work. One daughter a barmaid, other at school.
15	third	3	9	(E)	Man, wife, and 7 children.	Mantle maker, regular. Wife and eldest daughter help. Second daughter at service. Third daughter looks after the three school children and two babies.
16	„	3	5	(F)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Carpenter. Son a shorthand clerk, 26s; daughter does tie work; girl at school.
17	ground	3	6	(C)	Man, wife, and 4 children.	Compositor, irregular. Wife delicate; does a little sewing. Two children at school, and two babies. Seem poor.

# FOULSHAM BUILDINGS (Group I.—Light, good ; sanitation, very good).

A fine double row of industrial dwellings ; five floors, the three lower having bay-windows. There are ten tenements on each staircase, two on a floor, each consisting of two or three rooms and a small scullery with sink, copper, watercloset and other conveniences. Rents vary from 5s 9d to 7s 6d. and are strictly enforced. The buildings are kept in good repair, well painted, and clean, forming a pleasing contrast to the little houses with which they are surrounded. Particulars are given of the tenements on one staircase.

1	ground	3	7	(F)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Caretaker of a mission. Boy goes to work, and three children go to school. Very comfortable.
2	„	3	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Wood-carver, makes about 28s. Three children at school.
3	first	3	3	(E)	Man, wife, and 1 child.	Cabinetmaker ; regular, about 26s. Child goes to school.
4	„	3	5	(E)	Widower and 4 children.	Printer ; regular, about 28s. Eldest girl attends to home. Two children at school.
5	second	3	3	(E)	Man, wife, and boy.	Cabinetmaker ; small employer, makes about 25s. Boy goes to school.
6	„	3	4	(F)	Man, wife, and 2 children.	Engine-driver on railway, about 36s. Children go to school.
7	third	3	2	(E)	Man and wife.	Policeman. Young couple.
8	„	3	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Journeyman baker ; regular, about 30s. Three children going to school and two infants.
9	fourth	3	5	(E)	Man, wife, and 3 children.	Packer, earns about 24s. Wife earns about 5s or 6s. Children go to school.
10	„	3	7	(E)	Man, wife, and 5 children.	Labourer, regular. Wife does washing and earns about 5s. One boy works in the City, 5s. Three children go to school.

PART II.—CENTRAL LONDON.





## CENTRAL LONDON.

---

### CHAPTER I.

#### DESCRIPTIVE.

---

OF Central London, that is of Soho, St. James's, the Strand, St. Giles's, and St. George's Bloomsbury, with a population of about 113,000, full particulars of occupation as well as class were obtained on the same plan as for East London and Hackney, and a comparison between the Eastern and Central districts, based on these particulars, is given further on (Chap. VI.). This is a very remarkable district, lying, if we omit St. James's and that part of Bloomsbury which is north of Oxford Street, within pretty clearly defined boundaries. On the south, the Strand; on the west, Regent Street; on the north, Oxford Street and Holborn; on the east, Lincoln's Inn Fields, New Inn and the Law Courts. Through the streets that form three of its sides the life of all London rushes, on the fourth side there is no life, but a subdued stillness as one approaches the stronghold and domain of the law.

Till recently this district was cleft by very few thoroughfares, and cabs, seeking to cross it, crept through narrow streets with many turnings. Long Acre started well, but led at last only to the turnstiles of Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The making of Wellington Street and widening of Bow Street opened a route from Waterloo Bridge to Oxford Street, but it was left to very recent times to make the cleavage effective, to let in the outer world, and to depose Seven Dials as a centre in favour of Cambridge Circus, the point at which Shaftesbury Avenue and Charing Cross Road intersect. So new is this that it is hardly done. Who among my readers has heard of Cambridge Circus? Who has not heard of Seven Dials? Seven Dials may be deposed, but Cambridge Circus has not yet taken its place. Nor in truth can it ever take the place from which Seven Dials has been ousted, for that is a place which shall be known no more.

Neither Shaftesbury Avenue, nor Charing Cross Road, nor Cambridge Circus belong in sentiment to the locality, any more than Regent Street, Oxford Street, or the Strand; along them all flows a larger but an alien life to that which found its centre in Seven Dials. In spite of the great gashes so near its heart, the separate life of the district still survives. Leave any of the great streets I have mentioned, step but fifteen paces, and you find yourself in another world, with another people—other habits, other thoughts, and other manners seem to prevail. First comes darkness and a sense of stillness and peace after the rattle and blaze of the great streets, and then suddenly at the turn of another corner you are at once plunged into the life and spirit of the district itself. You have perhaps reached Walker's Court and Berwick Street, the brightest spot surely in all London on a Saturday night, or you are in Little Earl Street, one of the spokes of the Seven Dials wheel, or it may be that you have tumbled on the remains of old Clare Market. The people crowd the streets, along which no vehicle dreams of passing, chatting with each other, chaffering with the sellers, buying what they want or looking on while others buy. The air is bright with flaring lights and resonant with voices. The street is

occupied by a double line of "costers'" barrows and three slowly flowing streams of passers-by, one on each sidewalk, in the narrow space left between the wares pushed forward by the shops and those displayed on the barrows; a space so restricted and so fully occupied by sellers and buyers that no one else (unless indeed he be a student of such doings) will attempt the passage; while in the wider space between barrow and barrow in the centre of the street those stroll along who are not immediately concerned in the traffic.

The noisiest sellers are those who sell meat. They shout to the general "buy, buy, *buy*, BUY, BUY," repeated rapidly with a sharpening of the sound on each repetition of the word till the last rings like blow of hammer upon steel. But to the particular they address soft words—"Now, my dear, what can I do for you?"—or confidential recommendation of some particular bit of meat. Where there is one butcher's shop another is always close by, and between-whiles the men will shout loud chaff to their rival over the way, with seemingly an inexhaustible supply of scathing joke and repartee, taken and given with perfect geniality in the very best cockney spirit, suggesting somewhat the old days of "Chepe" with frolicsome apprentices crying "what d'ye lack?"

Among the crowds about Walker's Court and Berwick Street there are few signs of great poverty, none of abject want. The people are mixed in class, but those who are evidently comfortably off preponderate. The stalls for supplying necessities, or every-day luxuries, are interspersed with those where nick-nacks are sold, household ornaments, cheap jewellery, children's toys. The children often come a-marketing with their mothers, and one sees them returning laden with their share of the spoils, embracing a doll or some child's treasure in their arms or lightening the contents of a screw of sweetmeats. As you go city-ward there is more poverty; more at Seven Dials than to the



west of Shaftesbury Avenue, and more again at Clare Market. But nowhere in Central London can such sights be seen as are too common in South as well as in East London; such evident utter poverty amongst those who seek to lay out their money to best advantage in the streets. In Central London, as elsewhere, the poorest are the last to make their purchases. They are latest on Saturday night, and those who do not buy till Sunday morning seem poorer still. Prices are lower; the best of everything has been sold to those who have more money, and it is the surplus that is taken by the very poor. It is a dismal sight, this final choice of the unfortunate; yet even amongst them on Sunday morning I have seen a ragged child holding on with one hand to its mother's shabby skirt while with the other it grasped a penny toy.

The dark side of the district lies about Drury Lane. From Seven Dials going east the tone gets lower and lower till we reach that black patch consisting of Macklin Street, Shelton Street, Parker Street, already so fully described. Shelton Street has now been demolished, and parts of the other two are destroyed or scheduled for destruction. The change proceeds so fast that what was already is not, and much of what still is, will perhaps no longer be before these lines are in print. From this spot, through Great Wild Street and Vere Street, past old Clare Market to the Law Courts, we have at any rate nothing worse to encounter, but it is to be feared that the clearances made and making are being, and will be, paid for by the further degradation of the district towards the Strand, and that the patches of dark-blue which may there be seen on the map will tend to become black. They must then in their turn be scheduled and pulled down.

Eastward of Seven Dials lie many groups of common lodging-houses. Some of these have already been described, and more will be said about them in another chapter. In some live sandwich-men, loafers, and the most casual of



casual labourers ; other houses are the resort of ticket-of-leave men, and those who have been, or sooner or later will become, acquainted with prison life. Others accommodate the lowest of women, and some again provide double accommodation.

Westward of Shaftesbury Avenue and Charing Cross Road there is a network of streets mostly "mixed with poverty," but rarely consistently poor, or very poor. The poor are dispersed amongst those who are better off. There are a few small streets and courts where everyone is poor—some dark-blue and some light-blue spots upon the map — but the neutral tint prevails. Poverty in these streets usually goes by floors ; the poorest people, often extremely poor, are to be found at the top of the houses, and as you descend floor by floor the position mends.

Rents are everywhere very high ; ground-rents are enormous, and as leases fall in many-storeyed dwellings rise into the sky. Business purposes continually claim further accommodation, and it is not easy to see how rents can fall. The most that can be hoped is that rather better accommodation for the same rent should be provided in the new blocks than was found in the old-fashioned houses. But those whose wages are docked by the payment of 6s a week for a single room look with not unnatural jealousy upon the space occupied by breweries or factories, which they think might be better located elsewhere, leaving more room for the accommodation of those whose work cannot be moved, and who cannot move far from their work. In addition, there is a growing demand in some trades hitherto carried on in the homes for the provision of workshops by the employer, so as to free the home from the contamination of the work.

Near Regent Street, and to some extent near Oxford Street, one becomes conscious of the inward pressure of the

great shops; some seeking to compensate for insufficient frontage by extensions to the rear, and others establishing workshops within easy reach; while here and there are found enterprising firms in the small streets close to Regent Street, who abandon altogether appeals to the eye through the shop-front of a leading thoroughfare, trusting to their high reputation to bring customers to their doors and lure them within. These encroachments do but affect the very outside of the district. The main influence of the great shops on it comes from their workpeople, who represent a hundred trades, but amongst whom tailors and boot-makers are the most numerous. Of these something is said in the next chapter. Similarly the Hotels and Clubs, which mostly lie outside our boundaries, affect the district through the lives of those who serve therein. Waiters, most of them foreigners, are a very large, and on the whole well-to-do class, saving their money with an eye to returning to their French or German homes. So, too, the theatres on the side of the Strand are centres of employment for a great variety of people. Artists and artisans, costumiers and wig-makers, ballet-girls, chorus-singers, and other supers, and before and after Christmas many children find profitable employment in the pantomimes. There are, too, the deplorable "sandwich-men," and lower still the cab-touts. Covent Garden, elsewhere described, is the great fount of low-class labour, not only as regards the market porters, but as the centre from which hundreds of costermongers and street sellers work their trade. At the junction of Regent Street and Coventry Street, by Piccadilly Circus, prostitution has its principal market, holding high-change at the hour when the theatres close; but except for the foreign women, many of whom live in the Soho neighbourhood, this disgraceful traffic is not particularly connected with the inhabitants of Central London.

The bright and busy life for which the Hotels and Theatres exist, which supports the fashionable shops, and which fills the roadways with an endless stream of carriages and cabs and the footwalks at all times of the day and far into the night with a well-dressed crowd, is altogether outside of the Central London we have been attempting to describe. Those who enjoy this life come on pleasure bent, with money in their pockets, from all parts of London, from all parts of England, and from all parts of the world. They come and they go; and are divorced from the sense of responsibility which arises naturally from living in the reflected light of our past actions and pursued by their consequences. Extravagance, which is the exception in the life of each individual, becomes the rule in a state of things which is the sum of these exceptions. The result is a strange world; at best, not altogether wholesome; at worst, inexpressibly vicious. Domestic virtues have no very definite place in it, and moral laws are too often disregarded. There results, to some extent, a malign influence upon those who live to supply the many needs of these gay wayfarers. Imposition of all kinds is passed over with a shrug for the sake of present ease. Money will be given to the dishonest beggar or bullying tout whose face the giver will never see again. Partly perhaps as a result of this influence, the population of the district differs much in character from that of East or South London, or probably that of any other part. So say those of the clergy who have experience which enables them to make the comparison. Its people are, it is said, more conscious. If they are bad, they know it; if they are poor, they feel it more. They are clever, ingenious talkers, and if they beg are astute beggars. They are interesting enough, but from the point of view of the Church, very difficult "to get hold of." Perhaps they may at times have the best of an argument relied on to convince them of their errors.



Nor is the struggle of different sects over these poor souls conducive to anything but evil.\* Those who are hunted up in their homes on a Sunday morning by the emissaries of five or six religious bodies are not likely to be spiritually impressed by any. Religious services cannot be expected to do much good to those who attend them only to qualify for charitable assistance, or even, though this is less objectionable, if their simple motive is to enjoy the meal of tea and buns which often follows. The competition of organized societies is further aggravated in evil effect by the efforts of many West End philanthropists who choose St. Giles's as a field of independent charitable work.

Such is the heart and core of Central, or rather of West Central, London. Add to it the outlying parts north of Oxford Street and to the south-west of Regent Street (as is done in the tables of our statistics), and we include every grade in English Society living in every class of city dwelling from Buckingham Palace to Kennedy Court; every kind of Club from Brook's to the commonest "doss" house; every description of establishment for public entertainment from the Café Royal to the humblest eel-pie shop; and strike in fact all the familiar contrasts embodied in the words "St. Giles's and St. James's."

The East Central district is the City itself, of which any special description is beyond my purpose. It is, however, included in the larger area which may truly be called "Central" London to-day. For the limits of this area we may take on the south, the Thames from Westminster Bridge to the Tower; and on the north, a semicircle following the line of Regent Street, Euston,

\* A clergyman who took a mission chapel in this district some years ago was astonished to find no fewer than thirty regular communicants, but it turned out that these people had received most of the alms the mission distributed. He changed the system, and the number attending dropped to two; the others "could get more elsewhere."



Pentonville, and City Roads, Great Eastern Street and Commercial Street. Reaching London from north, and west and east, the railways for the most part touch, but do not cross, this semicircle; and the southern lines, with one exception, are content if they can deliver their passengers on the northern bank of the river. The one exception, which passes its trains under the very shadow of St. Paul's and discharges its passengers at Holborn, in the actual centre of the map, was most dearly paid for. Even tramcars infringe but little on this charmed circle; within it plies the omnibus, but it is still more essentially the sphere of the hansom cab.

A hundred and fifty years ago the limits of this district on the north were far in the fields. Through fields the roads ran from St. Mary-le-bone through Tottenham Court to Battle Bridge, where is now King's Cross, and thence to where the "Angel" still guards the northern gates, and on again through the fields of Finsbury to join the New North Road, which bounded Hoxton on the west, and so southward, skirting Moorfields, to London Wall at Moorgate. Where Great Eastern Street has in recent years been cut through densely packed houses, was then open fields, but Petticoat Lane, alongside of which runs Commercial Street, was doubtless then as now the market for East London, and the home of the Israelite. It was not until the end of last century that Lamb's Conduit and White Conduit Fields, extending from Marylebone to Sadler's Wells, were built upon, and the northern limits of London extended as far as those of its central part to-day. At that time the inner ring was less clearly defined than now; for Regent Street did not exist to mark its western boundary, and the line of Oxford Street and Holborn was broken near St. Giles's, where New Oxford Street has since been cut through a mass of small streets. But there was no need to consider the question of inner and outer rings when a

measured mile from the river bank covered almost the whole of London.

This area was formerly set about with great religious houses. The buildings are for the most part gone, though we may still worship in the Temple Church, or meditate in the chapel and cloisters of Charterhouse; and in Clerkenwell, St. John's Gate, the actual gate of the once world-famous hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, still stands and links the armed priests of old with the ambulance classes of to-day;\* but over the whole district the names of streets and alleys, parishes and churches, carry us back to the days before the change of faith.

One wonders how much the people who hurry along our crowded streets know of the history attaching to the names so often on their lips—some perhaps a good deal, most of them probably something, and at least it is good that the names should be preserved, in accordance with that wise conservatism which does not desire to expunge or to forget, and that large and generous spirit which, while hallowing the place where the noble victims of the Bloody Queen laid down their lives, reverences no less the old abode of those steadfast Carthusians who endured the worst her father could inflict, sooner than be unfaithful to their duty. The good fathers and the earnest reformers scarcely appreciated each other, but to both alike we make the reparation of a monument so long as we continue to name Smithfield and the Charterhouse.

Here, where memories lie thickest, our life presses most. He who dreams among these old names, awakes to find himself in the busy market of Whitecross Street, or lost in the dreadful labyrinth of courts between Goswell Road and Old Street. Or he may come to himself in the colony of

\* By a happy inspiration, the rooms in the gateway have been selected for the headquarters of the St. John's Ambulance Association.

Italian organ-grinders on Saffron Hill, or surrounded by the tall walls of some great group of modern dwellings seven storeys high. Change marches fast over this neighbourhood; a fresh survey was needed for our map in 1889, and now two years later it is already somewhat out of date.

The population of Clerkenwell has altered much in character of late years. Half a century or so ago, the staple industries of the parish—watch and clock-making, gold-beating, diamond-cutting, and the manufacture of jewellery—were in a flourishing condition, and throughout this district masters and journeymen worked and lived in prosperity. The trade was almost entirely carried on in private houses—such as the fine old houses in Red Lion Street—the manufacturers living on their premises, and using the lower part for trade purposes, or having occasionally a workshop in the rear. Now this is much changed. Under the stress of cheap foreign production the Clerkenwell trade has steadily declined, though like its contemporary artistic industry, the silk-weaving of Spitalfields, it still turns out some of the very finest work. Many of the houses are now used for other purposes, while in the case of those still devoted to the old crafts the master-men no longer, as a rule, live over their shops, and the artisans find their homes elsewhere. Their place has been taken by a lower class; policemen, postmen and warehousemen at the top, casual labourers at the bottom. It may be said that those who work in Clerkenwell do not sleep there, and those who sleep do not work there. The district is no less respectable, but is certainly poorer. It does not seem that the wholesale demolition of the worst and poorest streets has driven their inhabitants out of the neighbourhood. Room has been made for them in the streets vacated by the class above. Houses built for one family are used by two families, or perhaps three, or even more of the very poor, and the great “models” are filled up by the new comers.

Westward of Clerkenwell, beyond Lord Bacon's stately garden at Gray's Inn, lie the spacious squares and commodious streets of Bloomsbury, a district whence fashion has fled; but so convenient a neighbourhood is it, and so worthily planned, that it is not easy to see why South Kensington should be preferred. Perhaps some day the world will smile again on Russell Square and take its pleasure in the galleries of the British Museum.

---



## CHAPTER II.

### TAILORS AND BOOTMAKERS.

---

#### (1.)—COMPARISON WITH EAST LONDON.

It is not proposed to deal separately or in detail with the trades of Central London. In treating of East London, Dock Labour, Tailoring, Bootmaking, Cabinet-making, Tobacco-manufacture and the employments of women were described, as essentially characteristic of the life of that part of London, and as necessary to the consideration of the evil conditions of employment called "Sweating." There is no such case for dividing Central London industrially from London at large, and the Trades of London will form the subject of another volume. Nevertheless it may be of interest to give some idea of the differences that exist between East and Central London.

As to casual labour Covent Garden is to the one district what St. Katharine's Dock is to the other, and Covent Garden work will be described. As to bootmaking, and as to tailoring and the women's work connected therewith, the following notes may be of interest.

In both tailoring and bootmaking, we have in Central London the "West End" trade, that is the work done for the fashionable shops of Regent Street and the neighbourhood. The general characteristic of this trade is high-class work, commanding a good price, and those who get enough of it do very well. It is the irregularity of the work which brings poverty; and which may usually be coupled with irregularity of life. The best and most trustworthy workmen, both tailors and bootmakers, are hardly ever without work, and setting long hours in busy times against some enforced idleness in slack times, working

when they can and only playing when they must, may average full work the year round. From this satisfactory condition of things there is a sliding scale downwards till we come to those who can only count on having work when no one in the trade is idle. It may be that these unfortunate men have not the capacity, and that their work will only pass muster when the standard is somewhat relaxed, as it comes to be in the busier season; or that, either from illness, old age, drunkenness, or idleness, they are not to be counted on for doing regular work, and so lose their chances. Possibly it is their own fault, or perhaps not, but it remains in any case the fact that there are many who are very poorly off.

If all were equally good workmen, and all shared equally among them the work as it comes in, it must be said that none would be very well off, for none would average anything like full work. It is only by monopolizing nearly all the work in slack times that the steady and capable men make up a tolerable average earning. Their prosperity has as its shadow the poverty of the less capable or less steady; and it must be admitted that, on the whole, the rate at which the work is remunerated is none too high. But it is not easy to raise it, for, it will be seen, there is a vicious circle out of which it is hard to get. A rise of wages, if obtained, goes mostly to those who need it least, while the necessities of those who, even with an increased wage, have not enough to live upon, undermine the position of the workers and rob combination of its power. It follows that to diminish the numbers of the incapable, and so strengthen the possibilities of combination, is the only policy which promises permanent success.

Both in tailoring and bootmaking, the best "bespoke" work, which is the kernel of the West End trade, has a limited and perhaps a rather shrinking sphere, but the supply of first-rate workmen is as limited as the trade, and to make themselves into a close corporation, pushing all

who are not capable workmen and good unionists into other branches of their trade, would seem the most hopeful plan.

The "Factory system," which involves the utmost use of machinery; the "Sweating system," which by division of labour makes use of workmanship of all qualities at varying prices; and the employment of individual artisans who themselves perform all parts of the work, may roughly be taken as representing the "Provincial," the "East End," and the "West End" methods of production respectively. They of course overlap a little; there are factories in East London, and there is some sweating in the West End, and work is done on all three plans in the provinces; but speaking generally the division holds. Each system is capable of good as well as of evil, and those employed under each must work out their industrial salvation according to the circumstances of their particular case.

*Bootmaking*, which in East London is divided into six or eight different operations by as many classes of workpeople, has only two divisions in West End work. There is the "closing" or putting together of the upper portion of the shoe or boot, and there is the "making," which includes all the rest of the work connected with making and finishing the boots or shoes. Closing is done either in the workshops of the employers or in the homes of the work-people. When done at home, a man will very commonly have the assistance of his family; his wife, or a daughter, or perhaps a son will work with him, and he may have two or even three sewing machines. There are instances in which family work of this kind degenerates into sweating, and even into "sub-contract," but such cases are not usual, safe-guarded as the trade is in this direction by the fact that the quality of the work must be very good to satisfy the West End employer and his customers. "Making" is either done at



home (each man working alone or possibly with an apprentice, who will most likely be the workman's son), or in "co-operative workshops." There seems no good reason why the workshops in this case should be provided by the men and not by the employer, as is, I think, invariably the plan in other trades—but so it is. To work at home is often not convenient, and the work is not such as wife or children can assist in, so the men often club together, subscribe a shilling a week a-piece, and hire a room where each has his seat and his bench. There may be 12 or 15, or as many as 40 or 50, in one of these workshops, and altogether perhaps 150 or 200 workmen are so accommodated in the district, drawn from about 600 members of the Trade Union. None but members of the Union are admitted to the workshops. The government of these shops is by committee, like a club, and one member usually acts as secretary, and receives a small remuneration. The subscription provides cost of firing (in winter) and newspapers, in addition to the rent. Rents for such shops are high, and it takes a well-filled room to leave any margin over expenses, out of the shilling subscribed. Any surplus is divided from time to time, and on the other hand if the room is not full, an extra three-pence or so a week may be levied to meet the weekly payment of the rent. The men naturally sort themselves; there are quiet and respectable shops, and others of a faster sort. If men are too fast or too slow for their companions they are pushed out, and some discretion is used in admitting new members. Political feeling runs deep rather than high, for there is not much difference of opinion—almost all are Radicals, only some go further than others, towards Republicanism or Socialism. The hours kept are irregular, and mostly so when work is slack, as after half a day lost in waiting, the work is often needed in a hurry, and the time wasted must be made up by working late at night or



coming early in the morning. There are two keys to the shop, one of which any member wishing to stay late or come early can take for the time, the other remains with the doorkeeper, who is chosen for living conveniently nearby. Every man provides his own lamp for lighting, and his own spirit-lamp for heating the irons needed in the finishing, and also finds his own "grindery," a term which covers wax, thread, &c., as well as tools. Meals may be brought to the shop from home or from a cookshop—but most of the men go out or home for dinner. Those who work in these shops do not all live in the neighbourhood, as working in this way makes it easier to live elsewhere—at Battersea for instance.

In *Tailoring*, as in bootmaking, the West End system involves comparatively little division of labour—for although in the tailor's shops two men work together, they work as partners. Of the life led in such a shop and the conditions of the trade, there follows an account written by one whose daily life it is. I wish I could hope to lay before my readers as vivid and true a description of the internal working of every industry in London:

(2.)—WEST END TAILORING—MEN'S WORK.

*A Tailor's Workshop.*—Few workpeople in what are termed the organized Trades of the West End, spend more time in their workshops than the journeyman tailor. He ordinarily begins work at 8 A.M. (although many start at 5 and 6 o'clock), and scarcely leaves the workroom until 8 P.M., thus usually putting in fully 12 hours' continuous work in the day, which is often stretched to 14 and 16 hours in busy times. His food, which is generally partaken of in the workroom, may be put down as follows:—*Breakfast* at 8 or half-past, consisting of tea or coffee, bread and butter, with an

occasional rasher of bacon, bloater, haddock, or couple of eggs; *Luncheon* at 11 A.M.: beer, bread and cheese; *Dinner* at 1 o'clock: beef or mutton, vegetables, pudding and beer; *Tea* at 4 o'clock, with bun or bread and butter; this, with an occasional glass or two of beer, constitutes his day's food, and is nearly always taken by the tailor sitting on the board, with his work lying at his side and the newspaper in front of him. Of course many make it convenient to go out to their meals, but in the West End shops they are the exception. This is especially the case in the busy seasons, which are supposed to extend from March to August, and from October to December. In the matter of dress, tailors have always been considered the best off among working men, and certainly the younger members of the trade keep up their reputation in that respect. Many of the supposed West End mashers are nothing more or less than our friend the tailor.

A number of different tradesmen go round supplying the men with food, beer, cloth, boots, hats, &c., in fact nearly all the necessaries of life can be had in the shops by the payment of weekly instalments. In many of the shops the men have a loan society (called a boot fund) to which the men pay in one shilling per week, the money being loaned out at the rate of a halfpenny or penny in the hilling per week. These societies generally last about six months, when they are broken up, the principal and interest being shared out between the members.

There is in all shops a kind of unwritten code of laws that all must act up to, one of the most general being that all new hands must pay their footing—called “standing their ale.” This generally costs the new-comer 1s 4d, the price of half a gallon; those who wish to drink with him subscribe enough among them (called “bears”) to bring in ale sufficient to give one or two glasses all round, with which they pledge each other's healths. Births, birthday

and marriage anniversaries, and other like events, are made the occasion of having ale from the individual interested therein, and in many of the workshops to be seen walking with a female friend costs the unlucky individual no end of annoyance until he pays his ale for her (called "putting her in the pitcher"); after that, should anyone in the shop speak disrespectfully of her, he is at once fined for so doing. One of the most amusing incidents that takes place in a shop is a trial, which is arranged in this way: Let us suppose that A has said or done something that B considers to be insulting to him: the latter places 1s in the hands of a member of the shop who has been appointed judge, and states his complaint; A is then called on for his defence, after which the jury, consisting of all the men working, retire and consider the question; returning to the shop they inform the judge of their verdict, which is invariably one of guilty; the judge then puts on his judicial robes, consisting of a sheet of white wadding over his head, and in most solemn tones pronounces the sentence, usually "I fine you in one gallon of good old ale, and confiscate the shilling lodged by B as court expenses." If A refuses to pay he is "put out the pitcher," *i.e.* boycotted, until he does. These mock trials have been at times used as a means of dealing out well-merited punishment to individuals who have been guilty of mean or harmful actions towards their fellow-workmen; but the new race of tailors will scarcely stand all the nonsense of the good (?) old times—in fact, the tension of their work hardly allows it, except in the slack season; and then they have no money to spare for such foolery.

The irregularity of employment in the trade is responsible for a deal of the gambling—such as dice, domino and card playing—that goes on in the workshops; the system of working being piece work, it is no loss to the employer should the foreman keep a man sitting idle for hours, or

even days, through his bad management, and very few firms make any attempt to arrange their work so as to secure greater regularity of employment for the journeyman.

Coatmaking, which is considered to be the principal branch of the trade, is usually carried on by two men working together as partners; one makes the left and the other the right fore-part. The left man is the captain of the job; he is responsible for seeing the work put fairly together; he marks with cotton thread all the outlets left on the job by the cutter, cuts all the pockets and linings, makes the left side of the coat, makes and puts on the collar, and gives the work the final press off. The right man makes the right side of the coat, both sleeves, and joins the halves together. Partners generally take rights and lefts alternately. Vests and trousers are made by separate and single individual workmen.

The foreman, who cuts and gives out the work, has a great deal to do with making a shop good or bad for the workers. Some are petty tyrants, who never get on well with their workmen, others the reverse, but in nearly all instances where the employer is himself the cutter the men are better treated and more considered. In all firms the garments are fitted on at least once, but some cutters require their work fitted on the customer three or four times, while in other cases the customer himself insists on having his clothes tried on again and again, and when finished is never pleased until they have been altered and re-altered times out of number. But whether it is the fault of the cutter or the customer, to the journeyman it is not only a source of great worry, but is an actual loss of wages as well. Alterations, although very worrying jobs, are generally paid for at the rate of sixpence per hour—that is, one penny per hour less than other work, and as it is in the interest of the cutters to keep down the cost of alterations



and baisting, he squeezes down the worker to the very lowest possible point in the charging for time on these jobs!\*

Often when the cutter feels a bit lazy, and the work is in no particular hurry, he will keep a man sitting about the shop for hours waiting for him to get ready some work; thus it frequently happens that a man may have been in the shop the whole day and not have earned one penny wages. The worker has always to be at the beck and call of the foreman, and scarcely gets a job that does not cost him an hour or more time getting his instructions from him.

Good workshops are the exception; many of them are in a very unhealthy condition, badly lighted, ventilated, and dirty.

*Out Workers.*—A tailor who works at home or in other places than the workshop provided by the employer, is in some respects a little better off than the indoor man. For instance, he has much more freedom as to hours of labour, and if he has no work he is not compelled to sit in the workshop waiting to be called, and almost afraid to go out for fear some one else gets his work; he is also allowed by most firms to use the machine at his work, and even in firms that do not allow machine work he can do a good deal that escapes detection; but in the present condition of the trade, the greatest advantage of all is that he has the power of making profit out of his own family, or the labour of an outsider whom he may engage to assist him. He can also—and it is very extensively done—work for two or more shops in the busy season, and getting a share of the work in the slack from all, he is never so hard up as the indoor man. The disadvantages are, however, very great. He has to pay for workshop room, light and firing; or if he

\* It ought to be said that in tailoring the "hour" does not mean *sixty minutes*, but is the recognized allowance of time for a certain stint of work, which a quick workman will complete in considerably less time.

works at home, his house is always dirty, and in fact he surrenders all home comforts. He never gets more, but often less, money for his work than the indoor man ; many employers compel him to supply thread, silk, and twist, needed for his work, and some compel him to purchase the same from them at an enhanced price, and not infrequently he has to buy his work by tipping the foreman, either directly or indirectly. The temptation to work extra hours is very strong ; indeed, at times it is a necessity. It is no unusual thing for an outworker to get a job at night and be told that he must have it in by 10 o'clock next morning, which means working all night. Sundays are very extensively drawn upon to make up for any little extra pressure put upon them by the busy seasons, and many a time does a Christian employer give out work on the Saturday afternoon and require it to be returned completed the first thing on Monday morning, which is equal to commanding the worker to do it on the Sunday.

All 'outworkers employ labour of some kind ; it may only be an errand girl, a member of his own family, but he very soon instructs her how to sew and fell, then machine, and so on until she becomes a full-blown tailoress, almost equal to himself as regards the amount of sewing she can do. Some go even further than one girl and employ several ; many also employ one or two men, who through drink or other causes, have got too low down to go into a respectable shop to work. Thus the outdoor system is really nothing more than a kind of respectable sweating system.

I can scarcely tell how this outdoor working began, but it would seem to be coeval with the introduction and use of machinery ; one thing is certain, that side by side with the cheapening of machines and the extension of the weekly payment system there is an ever-increasing number of outworkers. Doubtless the drinking and gambling customs prevalent in some shops, as also their unhealthy condition, with the meddlesome interference of a tyrannical

foreman, had something to do with it; but the ever-increasing difficulty of getting a good living indoors, with the knowledge that he can take an hour now and again and make up for it at night or on the Sundays, as also the fact that a profit can be made out of the employment of female labour, helps greatly to make a man an outdoor worker.

The effect of outdoor work on the trade generally is bad. With the aid of the outworker, many firms are springing into existence who are competing against and crushing out the old-fashioned employers who treated their workmen as human beings. The men, never meeting or scarcely seeing each other, do not and cannot know what rate of pay each is getting; hence in many shops one man is paid 2s less for making a coat than another man, working for the same firm. Of course the general tendency is to cut down prices to the lowest minimum accepted by the cheapest worker. This tendency is so marked that in many firms they are now paying on some jobs about one half less than they were two or three years ago; indeed, some of the first-class firms have a regular supply of garments made by the Jew sweaters, as in the busy time they cannot get the West End tailors to work at the low price they have reduced them to. The Jews have, in fact, been regularly established in the West End through the cutting down tactics that outworking has enabled employers to pursue.

The tailors' organization is very weak, having only about 2600 members out of an estimated possible membership of ten thousand in London. The union has not been able since the year 1866 to take any active steps to raise the price or shorten the hours of labour; they are working to-day on a log drawn up by masters and men in that year; but instead of this statement being acknowledged by at least two-thirds of the West End employers, as it was then, scarcely a fourth of the firms now pay the prices therein laid down.



Many blame the foreign tailors in London for the low position they are in, and undoubtedly there are a great many foreigners working at the trade, very few of whom belong to the tailors' union ; but they are not as a rule to be found in the low-paid shops, although they do as a body show a decided preference for outworking.

The ladies' tailoring, which is a distinct branch of the trade, or has only sprung into existence within these past ten or twelve years, is supposed to be the best paid of all the branches, and it is significant that in this section the foreigners largely predominate.

Female competition has done much to keep the trade down ; in fact, women have almost entirely wrested one branch of the trade—waistcoat making—out of the hands of the men, whilst trouser making is fast going the same road, although, as in coat making, they usually require a man to do the pressing.

The general tendency of the trade is in two distinct and opposite directions—the first is towards the highly organized and specialized factory system ; this to-day has not reached further than to the clothing of the working and middle classes ; the second is towards the old home industries of the eighteenth century. Between the two the modern West End tailor is being fast ground out of existence. He may stop, and possibly crush out, the home working by greater regulations as to hours of work and stricter sanitary inspection, but nothing, so far as I can see, will prevent the application of the factory system of production to the tailoring trade as a whole.

### (3.)—WEST END TAILORING—WOMEN'S WORK.

Nowhere can the difficult problem of home work be better studied than amongst the tailoresses in the Soho, St. James's, and St. Giles's districts. Advantages and dis-



advantages seem almost equally balanced. Home work is here the rule, if under that term we include work in the workshop or living room of a tailor who has taken work out from the shop, and not merely work in the home of the tailoress herself. This being the case, we find that the conditions of labour vary with each individual family. It may seem at first sight of little importance whether a woman works in her father's workshop at her own home, or with one or two other women at someone else's workshop; but the position of the woman may be very different in the two cases. In the latter she is paid a fixed rate of wages; she must work continuously at times fixed by her employer, and is subject to a strict supervision. But she meets her employer on equal terms, can make her bargain with him, and leave him if she likes, and although frequently obliged to work overtime, can make it unprofitable to insist on it unnecessarily by exacting some extra pay. If she works for her husband, no price is agreed upon for her work; the proceeds are paid to her husband, and, were it necessary, it would be difficult for her to determine or to claim her equitable share of them. A daughter works under somewhat similar conditions, but is generally allowed pocket money, a privilege not always accorded to the wife, who cannot at any moment give notice, and look for work elsewhere as her daughter can. If the head of the family is sober and steady, and fond of his wife and children, all the advantages of family co-operation at home become apparent. The wife is then only expected to help her husband in her leisure time, when she has comfortably performed all her household duties. In ordinary and slack times she does very little work for him; and in the busy seasons she enables him to get his work sent to shop in time without employing extra hands, and without excessive overtime. The daughters work fairly long hours, but are not over-strained, and are free to take little holidays now and again, and to rest when they feel tired. They are not

obliged to compete for employment with other women, and are free from the nervous fear of loss of employment. Their position relative to that of other women is as the position of an eldest daughter who teaches her brothers and sisters in her father's house is to that of a daily governess. But, as the daily governess is frequently better off than the daughter who teaches her brothers and sisters, so the tailoress at home may frequently be in a far worse plight than the one who goes out to work. The wife may have to work at every odd moment; she and her daughters may have to toil far into the night, and may be driven and bullied as no one but a husband and father could venture to drive or bully; and she may have the reward of seeing her husband drunk on the money of which she has had no opportunity of intercepting a share.

The desire to call their earnings their own is probably one of the reasons why so many girls work for other tailors in preference to working for their father; and only from these girls, and from widows and married women who are obliged to go out to work, can we arrive at any idea of the wages of women in the trade. It is absolutely impossible to estimate the separate value of the husband's work and the wife's work when all that we know is that the man was helped by his wife. This help may be of the slightest and most unskilled kind, or it may be the making of the garment throughout, with the exception of fitting and pressing; it may have been given for two hours a day or for twelve or thirteen. A tailor who has not been so fortunate, from a pecuniary point of view, as to secure a tailoress for his wife, and whose daughters either go to service or go out to work elsewhere, has to employ women, and his own earnings can be ascertained. All these circumstances combined make generalizations as to the effect of home work on wages almost impossible.

Analyzing the cases in which the wages of women in full

work have been given to me, I find a few instances in which they are stated to be as high as 20s a week. The first is a widow with five children, a waistcoat hand, whose husband, a chair frame maker, had done no work for five years previous to his death. She gave her earnings as 20s in full work and 10s a week in slack time; her daughter, age nineteen, was earning 10s a week at another workshop as trouser finisher, and her son was an apprentice at the same shop as his sister, earning 5s a week.

The next is a married woman whose husband, a dyer, had been ill for eighteen months. He belonged to the Hearts of Oak Society, and received an allowance from it, and with this and the wife's earnings the family had been supported. The eldest of the three children, aged fourteen, was learning tailoring from her mother.

The third is a deserted wife with two children. She earned 20s in full work, but in the slack time in winter had only earned 5s to 8s a week. During that time she had received food and clothing and other assistance from her mother, and when in full work again was paying back some of her debt.

The fourth is a girl of eighteen, who was helped by her mother, sixty years of age. She supported her mother, whose help was very small.

In all these instances there was obviously a reason for putting forth all their energies and doing their utmost, and there is little doubt that full work with the tailoresses must always be accepted as including overtime. The ordinary rate earned by a strong, industrious girl, after she has gone through her apprenticeship and worked a year or so as an improver, is from 15s to 18s a week, without over-pressure, when fairly busy. Even in the details given by applicants for assistance from the Charity Organization Society, 10s is the lowest rate given, and 12s to 15s is a common one. To be strictly accurate, I should mention that within a period of two years, two tailoresses in the St. James's and Soho district stated that their wages in full work were less



than 10s. One was an old woman, sixty-five years of age, the other was a woman of extremely bad character, and a confirmed drunkard. Of those who earned as little as 10s when in full work, one was a girl, *eighteen* years of age, who had a child eight months old, and whose husband, a silversmith, had only had odd jobs for the last ten months; another was a woman who called herself a widow, and drank; another was a single woman in bad health; the fourth was a girl of sixteen, and the fifth was an old woman of sixty-six. In the two remaining instances, there were no special reasons to explain the lowness of the rate stated.

Skill in this trade is to a great extent hereditary; and it is noteworthy that the daughter of a tailor rarely takes to dressmaking. Her work must be good and trustworthy, and many a dressmaker would prove quite incompetent to do it. But on the other hand there seems to be among the tailoresses a repugnance to undertake any work requiring mental exertion; and dressmaking demands thought and attention, owing partly to the constant change in fashion. Waistcoat-making might be almost entirely in the hands of women were it not for the reluctance of the tailoresses to incur what they call "responsibility." Very few can make the whole garment, and they are nearly always content to leave the "fitting" to men. One garment, however, is sometimes made throughout by women—cassocks. The demand for cassocks is, I am told, on the increase, and women can make them throughout because they need not fit.

A natural result of this home work system is that nearly all the members of a tailor's family learn tailoring; and another consequence is frequent intermarriages between tailors and tailoresses. To marry a tailoress is to a tailor the same thing as marrying an heiress; and the tailoress runs the same risk as the heiress; she is only too frequently married in order to be exploited. She sometimes has to earn her living and do the housework for nothing as well. Again,



the family in busy seasons may be collectively extremely well off; in slack seasons they may all be out of work together. In such cases, however, they have no excuse for pleading poverty, as too many of them do when out of work; their earnings, in good times, being quite sufficient to enable them to save for the bad season. But prosperity is frequently too much for them, and, coming as it does for only about four months in the year, tempts them to indulge extravagantly in amusements. Living so close to the theatres they are unable to resist the temptation to go whenever they can, instead of at the rare intervals at which they could afford this luxury if they earned an average regular wage.

If the life of a tailor's wife is at times an endless drudgery, there is no doubt that in one respect she is better off than the wives of the majority of artisans. Widowhood does not bring with it such poverty and wretchedness as it often does in the case of women who are left to support their children, and who have not worked at any trade since their marriage. The widow of a carman, or porter, or labourer has often no resource but to go out as charwoman or to take in plain needlework. The tailoress, unless she has a very large family, can manage to keep herself and her children without appealing to charity or the parish for relief. The suffering she escapes is incalculable.

---

### CHAPTER III.

#### COVENT GARDEN MARKET.

---

COVENT GARDEN and its surroundings are replete with associations of historical interest, and a whole volume might well be written thereon. Here Inigo Jones built the first Piazza known in England ; here the poet Dryden, on account of some verses in his poem of the "Hind and Panther," was assaulted by the Mohawks. In Covent Garden lived Lady Mary Wortley Montague, and gathered round her the assembly of wits that have handed her name down to posterity. The coffee-houses round teem with recollections of Johnson, Garrick, Goldsmith, Reynolds, Foote, Sheridan, Theodore Hook, and many other notabilities. Hard by, in Bow Street, Fielding administered justice, while under the Piazza, Lely, Kneller, Thornhill and Hogarth painted or exhibited their pictures. Here, too, in front of St. Paul's Church, were erected the hustings for the Westminster Election, the scene of many a hard-fought political battle. From these topics, however, we must turn to consider the market itself.

Covent Garden, which is of course a corruption of Convent Garden, was originally an enclosure used by the Abbots of Westminster as a burial place for their Convent. When the dissolution of the monasteries took place, the property came into the possession of the Duke of Somerset, on whose attainder in 1552 it reverted to the Crown. It was then granted to John Russell, Earl of Bedford, under the description of "Covent Garden, lying in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, next Charing Cross, with seven acres called Long Acre, of the yearly value of six pounds six shillings and eightpence." At first an open space with

green fields, it perhaps afforded pasturage for a few cattle; it was, at any rate, the favourite resort of the young men of London and Westminster, for purposes of recreation, for even as late as the time of Gay, we have a graphic account, from the pen of that poet, of a game of football played there.

No precise date can be fixed for the establishment of the market. It is probable that as the City of London began to spread westward of Temple Bar, the green fields behind Bedford House, which then stood facing the Strand, were occupied by itinerant vendors of fruit and vegetables, who found it a convenient spot for the sale of their wares, owing to its close proximity to the two cities. Taking advantage of the idea, the then Earl of Bedford, as owner of the property, in the year 1632 commenced to set up market buildings, though these at first seem to have been little more than wooden sheds. In 1638 Inigo Jones built the church of St. Paul, "the handsomest barn in England." It is narrated (in Walford's "Old and New London") that when the Earl sent for Inigo he told him that he wanted a chapel for the parishioners of Covent Garden, but added that he would not go to any considerable expense. "In short," said he, "I would have it not much better than a barn." "Well, then," replied Jones, "you shall have the handsomest barn in England."\* The Piazza was also erected about this time. Thornton, in his "Survey of London and Westminster," published in 1786, says of the Piazza, that if it had been carried round the square, according to the original plan of Inigo Jones, it would have rendered Covent Garden one of the finest squares in Europe. In the early days of the Georges, the Piazza became a fashionable lounge, and so popular was it that we are told that for a century after its erection many of the female children baptized in the parish were christened Piazza.

\* This church was entirely destroyed by fire in 1795, and another has been built on its site.



In 1671, the Earl of Bedford obtained a patent for the market, which, growing rapidly in importance, soon became a very flourishing concern. Strype, writing in 1698, describes it as held for fruits, herbs, and flowers beneath a small grove of trees. The present market, which occupies all the centre of the square, was built in 1830 by the sixth Duke of Bedford, the architect being Mr. William Fowler. It covers a space of about five acres, which includes three acres of the chartered market, the rest having been added subsequently. In addition to this, a building, known as the New Flower Market, and containing an area of about thirty thousand feet, has been erected by the late Duke at the south-east corner of the quadrangle. The Floral Hall, which stands in the north-east corner immediately adjoining the opera-house, was erected by Mr. Gye (when Covent Garden Theatre was rebuilt after its destruction in 1856), with the view of establishing a vast central flower market for the Metropolis. The building, however, was never used for the purposes for which it was intended, as opening in March, 1860, with a volunteer ball, it was for many years afterwards employed principally for concerts. The lease was purchased a few years back by the Duke of Bedford, and the place is now used for the sale by auction of foreign fruit or flowers.

The chartered market is regulated by statute,\* and the rest of the market is controlled by the Duke of Bedford's rules, which conform to the statutory regulations. The owner is responsible for the cleaning of the market, and the refuse is regularly removed, but apparently the market is never really washed down, and very offensive smells, especially in summer time, frequently arise on account of the trodden-down mass of decayed vegetable matter. The streets adjoining are cleansed by the local authorities, and this system of dual control may possibly account for the nuisance. The Duke, through his agents, arranges the use to which the shops in the market may be put; in the centre row, for instance,

\* 9 George IV., cap. 113.



for the sake of keeping up a smart appearance, the fruit and flower shops are as far as possible placed alternately. All the shops are held on weekly tenancies, an arrangement which, at first sight, seems astonishing, but which has been established in order to avoid the formation of any monopoly or rings by a combination of the tenants.

When a shop becomes empty it is usual to put it up to tender, but when a tenant dies preference is usually given in the retaking to the family, provided, of course, there is anyone capable of carrying on the business. The rents, which are rarely raised, mostly range from 35s to £5 per week; though the highest, including offices and cellarage, reaches £8. 8s, and the lowest is only 12s weekly. The occupier pays nothing for water, taxes, repairs or general gas.

The stands in the Flower Market are rented at from £7 to £10 a year, but this does not include the collectors' charges. A pitching stand is one on which goods are pitched for sale; these may be either held yearly or casually. The growers and yearly tenants usually employ their own men to unload the carts, but for the casual stands the unloading is done by the regular market porters, under the direction of a head porter. The highest rent for a grower's pitching stand is 1s per square foot uncovered, and 1s 3d covered. The rents vary, therefore, according to the area, from £15 to £22 per annum. Tolls are paid on casual waggons and on all produce brought into the markets, other than that by the growers having yearly stands. The tolls are practically unchanged since the year 1661, the standard fee being a halfpenny a bushel. The highest toll is 2s per waggon, and 2s per cart laden with evergreens; and the lowest under the Act for a cart-standing is 4d, or for the same by custom 6d.

From the above facts it will be gathered that the income of the market is derived principally from two sources—from stallage and from tolls. The average receipts amount to about £25,000 a year, which, deducting £10,000

a year for expenses, leaves a net income of £15,000 a year—but against this more than £150,000 has been spent in buildings alone, since 1828; and much has been done towards widening the streets in the neighbourhood and in pulling down houses to enlarge the area around the market. The crush and block in the market itself and the adjoining streets, which was formerly a scandal and a nuisance, has been considerably abated, and as opportunity offers for further clearances, will, it is to be hoped, disappear almost entirely. Some years back the Duke, being of opinion that the market would be better managed by the municipal authorities, made an offer to the Metropolitan Board of Works to transfer the market to them, but the negotiation was never carried through. A similar offer has now been made to the London County Council, but no definite arrangement has as yet been arrived at.

The business of the market has been greatly augmented within the last few years by the increase of foreign produce and by the development of trade. While, however, the wholesale business has increased, the retail trade has rapidly declined and now scarcely exists at all. At one time it was no uncommon thing to see drawn up in the market a line of carriages from the West End, the occupants having come to buy fruit and flowers; but now a carriage is comparatively rarely seen there. The Civil Service Stores and the excellent fruit and flower shops which have recently sprung up in the West End, have practically extinguished this branch of what was once a flourishing retail trade.

The fruit for the market comes in heavy consignments from the Channel Islands, all parts of France, Spain, and Portugal, the Holy Land, the West Indies, and America, including California, which, during the "off" season in France, fills the gap with its pears. Many other countries send their productions, and in fact the whole world contributes to the supply of Covent Garden. The flowers also

are sent from a great variety of places, both at home and abroad.

The English goods come from within a radius of 9 to 20 miles of London, and are brought to the market in vans. The carmen of these vans, leaving their different nurseries about 5 or 6 o'clock in the evening, arrive about 8 P.M. (though some come a good deal later, arriving early in the morning) so as to have their goods ready for the 5 o'clock market, and usually sleep on the boards of their stands—an uncomfortable arrangement and against regulations, but apparently the best they can do in the circumstances. Guernsey and Jersey send a large quantity of chrysanthemums and arum lilies which arrive at about 5.30 A.M., by the South and Great Western Railway vans, and Paris and Nice furnish heavy consignments of Neapolitan violets and white lilac, which come in three or four times a week by the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway. A wonderful trade in narcissi, camellias, daffodils, &c., is done with the Scilly Islands.

The Flower Market is open from 5 A.M. to 9 A.M. on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, between the months of September and April, for the sale of plants and cut-flowers; on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday during the same months it is open from 7 A.M. to 9 A.M. for the sale of cut-flowers only; during the rest of the year it is open daily from 4 A.M. to 9 A.M. for the sale both of plants and cut-flowers.

The scene in this market in the early morning is a remarkable one, full of activity and bustle. It is worth a visit even in the winter months, and especially on Christmas Eve, but it is in summer, during the height of the fruit and flower season, that it is seen at its best.

As we approach the market in the early dawn of a summer's morning we find most of the adjoining streets filled with carts. Formerly the streets were well nigh impassable even for foot-passengers, but owing to the



clearances lately made, both on the side of Bow Street and of Henrietta Street, there is now good standing ground for the larger part of the carts in the market itself. Still, even now we sometimes have to creep under a cart to make our way across the street, and vehicular traffic is of course an impossibility. Under the porch of St. Paul's Church an old man is selling a curious but much patronized concoction of eels in water. This mixture does not look inviting, so we politely decline his invitation to refresh ourselves, and pass on. At Lockhart's Coffee Tavern, under the Piazza, where a roaring trade is proceeding, we regale ourselves with a good cup of coffee and a roll. The shops in the Central Avenue are not yet open, and the auctions in the Floral Hall do not begin till much later, but the side avenues are filled with fruit and vegetable sellers, and the Flower Market is in all its glory. Few sights can be prettier than the one it presents when it first opens in the morning in summer. Brilliant flowers of all hues and kinds are ranged upon the stands, while the rising sun lights up the whole scene. The agents and foremen of the different shops in the market are hurrying from stand to stand, buying the flowers that they think will sell. They enter their purchases, prices, &c., in small note-books which are provided on the spot by hawkers of such wares. There is an old man in the market who goes about with a heap of note-books and pencils for sale, and it is marvellous how he manages to carry so many. We heard him offer six note-books for sale for 3*d*. He has done this business in the market for twenty years, and makes, we should say, judging from the amount of his custom, a good thing out of it. We wend our way along with some difficulty, having to keep our wits about us to avoid the porteresses carrying their big baskets of flowers, and the porters with baskets heaped up one above the other on their heads. Sometimes a collision or a stumble causes these baskets to fall, and as they are laden they not unfrequently give severe bruises



to the unwary passer-by. Here and there we come upon a collector gathering the tolls, or a sub-collector or inspector remonstrating with someone who is infringing the rules of the market. Busy as the scene is, we are struck by the good temper and good humour apparent on all sides. At about 8 o'clock the shops on the centre avenue are beginning to take down their shutters. By this time the stands in the Flower Market are nearly denuded of flowers, most of which have been already bought. At 8.30 a warning bell is rung, for at 9 A.M. the buyers must leave the Flower Market. If anyone attempts to linger after that hour, he is hustled out by the police. Towards closing time we have been perpetually asked by the stand-keepers if we will not buy this or that flower, and we have always returned from our matutinal visits to the market, with one, two, or three pots presented to us by our friends from the stock they have been unable to sell.

The work of the people in the market is hard enough, as may be gathered from the account of a day given by a shop foreman. In winter he gets to work at 5 A.M., and in summer at 3.30 A.M.; he buys and sells in the Flower Market till 9 A.M., when he goes to his shop in the centre avenue; he works there till 8 in the evening, unless, indeed, he has to do the decorations for a ball or some other festivity. When royalty goes to the theatres in the neighbourhood he has to take flowers there for them, such flowers being paid for by the theatre people. [Of course it is needless to say that he does not work at high pressure the whole of this time, for he has plenty of leisure for meals during the slack hours; he is, however, practically on duty the whole time.]

*Staff.*—The managing staff of the market consists of a superintendent, collectors, sub-collectors, office clerks, attendants, and constables, who are paid by the Duke. The collectors look after the rents and tolls, while the sub-collectors are mainly responsible for the general

order of the market and for seeing that the laws and bye-laws are carried out.

*Shopkeepers.*—The tenants of the shops may be taken next, and of these it may suffice to say that they are as a rule a well-to-do class, whose tenancies often extend over a long period of years, and not unfrequently descend from father to son. Some of them have made considerable fortunes. One instance there is of an old gentleman who had amassed £20,000. The wages of the shop *employées* vary from one to two guineas a week.

*Growers.*—At the time of this inquiry forty-five cart or waggon stands in the market were set apart for growers, and of these thirty-two were regularly occupied. The remaining stands are usually taken by casual growers, who generally come from within a radius of nine miles of London. The casual carts and waggons are very much the more numerous. Many, if not most, of these men are members of the Market Gardeners, Nurserymen and Farmers' Association, the objects of which appear to be the protection and promotion of the common interests of the classes embraced, and their relief in distress.

*Commission Salesmen and Higglers.*—The former act for the grower for the time being, but are not themselves producers. The higglers, or middlemen, are on the alert as early as 4 A.M., taking note of how the things are being sold from the vans, and purchasing lots accordingly.

*Porters.*—There are between 700 and 800 licensed porters regularly employed in the market, and all of these are supposed to wear a badge, which any man recommended as sober and honest may obtain at the Bedford Estate Office by payment of 1s 6d. This sum will be refunded to him when he gives up his badge, provided the latter is not injured. These badges should, according to the regulations, be worn on the arms, but during our early visits to the markets we observed that this rule was not strictly carried out, as many of the porters seem either ashamed or

unwilling to wear them openly, but keep them in their pockets, ready to be produced if necessary. As these badges are issued to protect the public from fraud, it is a pity, both in the interests of the men and of those who employ them, that they are not more generally referred to, for there are numerous loafers and cadgers who hang about the market on the chance of a job, ready to steal whenever occasion serves, and under the system as at present carried out it is very difficult, if not impossible, to detect them. The licensed porters, too, sometimes unwisely play into the hands of the unlicensed hangers-on by refusing to carry wet loads, thus compelling the sellers to send for an outside man to do the work.

Of the licensed porters, some are constantly employed in the shops, and so practically receive regular wages, but with most the earnings are very irregular. In the summer a casual porter may occasionally take as much as £2 or £3 a week about the market, while in the winter he drops to 1s or even nothing. He may, indeed, endeavour to increase his earnings by working as an assistant (scene-shifter, &c.), at the adjoining theatres at night, but often he degenerates into the mere loafer after his morning's work, and not unfrequently spends the remainder of the day in the public-house.

The porters are hard-worked during the market hours. Their usual charge is 2*d* a turn, though this depends somewhat on the size of the load. Some years since the porters started a benefit club, which flourished for awhile, but subsequently failed in consequence of mismanagement. They have now formed a union, and apparently desired that none but men willing to join the union should have tickets issued to them. This condition was refused by the Duke, who, while not objecting to the men belonging to the union, would not allow it to be made a qualification for obtaining a badge. This society, but recently formed, is at present only strong enough to partly prevent the unlicensed



porter working in the market, as formerly. The object of the union is to obtain a monopoly, and to secure a higher rate of pay for carrying. Women are not admitted to membership.

Of the casual porters it is impossible to estimate the number, as there are no lists by which to identify them, and the nature of their work is variable, while their attendance is often irregular.

Among these people there are some distressing cases. We came across one man who, for some months at least in the year, was in regular receipt of 35s a week in the market, but never brought home a penny to his wife, spending the whole of it on his own pleasures. He rarely visited his home, and only when he wanted something. His wife in the meantime supported herself and family by selling flowers in the street. In contrast to this sad story, we have another of a porter in the market who, by his industry and providence, supports an invalid wife. When his morning's work is over he returns home to his wife, who is almost completely paralyzed, and spends the rest of his day in household work. We can testify to his efficiency in this last-mentioned work; the room is scrupulously clean in every respect, and is indeed a model of what a poor man's home may be.

In the Flower Market women porters are employed. They also are licensed, and have a badge intended to be worn suspended from the waist, outside the apron, on the left-hand side. The women charge  $1\frac{1}{2}d$  or  $2d$  a turn for the plants, which they carry on their heads in baskets to the vans outside. These baskets hold about twelve plants each. The earnings of the porteresses are usually from 6s to 12s a week.\*

Many women are employed in the market during the fruit season as pea pickers, asparagus tiers, walnut shellers,

\* A very complete list is kept at the market office, containing the names and addresses of the licensed porters and porteresses.



&c., but these people during the rest of the year have to get on as best they can. They are paid by the piece, viz. so much on each pint shelled or each bundle tied.

*Costers and Flower Girls.*—These hardly come within the definition of people employed in the market, but a word or two may be said regarding them. The costers arrive in the market between 6 and 7 A.M., paying 1s to enter. If they stand and sell in the market they have to pay another 1s, but usually they load up their barrows and start off to hawk in the streets. We are informed that they are never interfered with when moving, nor yet while standing still if they are really serving a customer. The flower girls come into the market about 8 o'clock, and buy up the flowers remaining unsold. These, of course, they are able to get cheaply, the grower being anxious to dispose of them.

The people employed in the market are of several nationalities, and include not a few Jews. They are, as a rule, a hard-working lot, but lead a very hand-to-mouth life. The nature of their business, in addition to the causes common to all classes alike, may make it difficult for them to be provident, but it must be regretted that there is so little thrift among them; as regards sobriety, it is asserted that the porters and others employed in the market are not less sober than the rest of their class. The work is often very heavy and the hours early, which probably conduces to the considerable amount of nipping which goes on. We have visited the market at all hours of the early morning, and though we cannot bear witness to any case of drunkenness, nearly every one we spoke to smelt of something stronger than tea or coffee, and many were stupid and thick of speech.

The shutting up by the Duke of the public-houses in the immediate neighbourhood of the market has been productive of much good. Formerly, when there were many public-houses close to the market, the porters could run in and out of them almost at will, but now they have to think

twice, because they may very likely lose a job by leaving their work to go the necessary distance.

Although a large number of the workers in Covent Garden, by the nature of their work, are compelled to reside in its immediate neighbourhood, many others live far from it, and an inquiry into the circumstances of all those connected with the market would extend over the greater part of the metropolitan area. School boys of Battersea, exhausted by early morning work at the market, fail in their tasks; whilst inmates of common lodging-houses at Notting Hill have a weary tramp to bring their stock of flowers in pots from the market. In the course of our inquiries we went to visit a friend, who for some years had a living in the neighbourhood, but who has since removed to a district some considerable distance away. In asking for information about the porters, &c., of the market, we remarked that we hoped he would not mind our visit, as now he had done with the market. "Done with the market!" he exclaimed, "Why, my good fellow, I have the market people all round me here, and shall have them wherever I go in London or its suburbs. I shall never have done with Covent Garden Market."

In concluding this article on the work and associations of Covent Garden, we must acknowledge the material assistance afforded by Dr. Walford's "Old and New London," Mr. Timbs's "Curiosities of London," the First Report of the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls, and other works, while our best thanks are due to all with whom we have come in contact during our inquiries. It has at times been a matter of difficulty to elucidate truth from a mass of conflicting reports, but from all we have met with unvarying kindness and readiness to answer questions to the best of their knowledge.

## CHAPTER IV.

### COMMON LODGING-HOUSES.

---

IN studying the picture of London poverty set forth in varied colours on the map, the eye readily notices those black spots which betoken a miserable combination of poverty, vice and crime. If a more minute acquaintance is made with these dark places it will be found that in not a few of them, houses exist for accommodating the poorer classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and known as "Registered Common Lodging-houses."\* These houses are under the control of the local authority, which in the Metropolis is the Commissioner of Police, and are subject to periodical inspection by officers appointed for the purpose. They *may* be visited by these officers at any hour of the day or night, and they exist under strict conditions as to the number of lodgers that may be received, as to propriety regarding the separation of the sexes; as to the proper furnishing of the rooms; as to cleanliness, ventilation and other sanitary arrangements. Would that these regulations were always rigidly enforced! Sick persons can, at the option of the "deputy" in charge, be removed to the hospital or infirmary, and it is comparatively rare that anyone dies in a common lodging-house. The keepers also may be required to report regarding beggars and vagrants, but this provision is of little avail, if indeed it is ever made use of; they are also forbidden, under severe penalties, not always very effectual, to harbour thieves and such bad characters.

\* There is no legal definition of a common lodging-house, either in Acts of Parliament or judicial decisions, but it may be roughly defined to be a house in which beds are let out by the night or by the week, in rooms where three or more persons not belonging to the same family may sleep at the same time.



The provision to be found in the Metropolis for those who are "homeless"—or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, those who enjoy no family life—has a wide range. From the luxury of the West End residential club to the "fourpenny doss" of Bangor Street or Short's Gardens is but a matter of degree. The club loafer of Piccadilly or Hyde Park Corner, and the unkempt and ill-clad vagabond sleeping away the summer day on the grass of St. James's Park, are often influenced by much the same desire—to attain the advantages of the associated life without the cares of housekeeping—and the election which the one has to undergo to pass as a "clubable" man finds its counterpart in the unwritten law which makes certain common lodging-houses accessible only to the "game 'uns."

A proportion of those who make their home in the common lodging-houses do so of necessity, driven thereto by poverty, the victims of misfortune, or of irregularity or slackness of work. But many others voluntarily adopt this method of life; amongst them are men earning good wages—artisans, for instance, from the Midlands or the North—who seek a temporary abode while fulfilling engagements to work for short periods at a distance from their family or friends. Some inhabit these houses partly of necessity and partly of choice; and there are some again who have a particular motive of their own which differs altogether from the pressure of poverty, those who find it convenient to be able to shift their quarters at short notice and to preserve a stricter *incognito* than would be compatible with ordinary family life—individuals, who, abandoning patronymic and Christian name, adopt a varying *soubriquet* suited to, or known by, the company they frequent—passing perhaps as "the Slasher" in St. Giles's while recognized only as "Sir Garnett" in the lodging-houses of Westminster.

According to the report of the Chief Commissioner of Police issued in 1889, there were 995 common lodging-houses registered in the Metropolis, or, if we include the 5



houses which are under separate jurisdiction in the City, there were in the whole of London exactly 1000 houses, with accommodation in all for 31,651 persons.

It must not be supposed that all these houses, though under the same law, are of the same type or character. Some houses, though registered, are not labelled as "lodging-houses," but go by the more euphonious name of "chambers;" and in those of a better class, are to be found many young clerks and shop assistants who wish to husband their resources, and so be able, as it is said, "to cut a dash" in some other direction.

Some of the houses even aspire to the appellation of "hotel," and only differ from an ordinary hotel in the fact that several young men will occupy the same bedroom. In such chambers and "hotels" the sitting-rooms and smoking-rooms are often fairly good and the furniture comfortable, while meals of a superior quality are provided for the "young gentlemen" at prices varying from 4*d* to 1*s*, or even more. Accommodation of this kind is to be found in the neighbourhood of the large railway stations about the Euston Road, and near some of the suburban junctions used by travellers wishing to live cheaply while spending a few days in town. Many coffee-houses too, are registered, and let a few beds in connection with their other trade, reputably or otherwise—too often otherwise.

There are also philanthropic institutions, such as servants' homes—shelters where some payment is required—which are registered in order to comply with the law,\* and others which, by providing supper, bed and breakfast at a nominal charge, seek to draw together and bring under religious influence those who seem to need ministration of all kinds, and who may be expected to listen more readily when warmed and fed. It is, however, not with any of these

\* Since the decision of the Court of Queen's Bench in the case of the Salvation Army shelter, this would seem to be no longer necessary.

that we are here concerned. They have made use of the law, but it is not for their sake that the law exists.

Still, however, there is, among legitimate specimens, a considerable variety, the difference showing itself in the character of the occupants and being connected in a general way with the neighbourhood in which the houses are situated.

In parts of South London, for instance, many respectable single men who are employed in the large engineering works or elsewhere live permanently in this way. If they cannot live more cheaply, they have at any rate more independence and less responsibility than in ordinary lodgings. In East London, too, there are houses similarly occupied by dock labourers and warehouse porters in fairly regular employment. The difference in the character of these houses and their occupants in different localities is shown by the extent of their interconnection with pauperism, for while in certain unions the workhouse population is recruited largely from their inmates, in other districts, where also common lodging-houses are found, little or no such connection is to be traced. But the variation is still more marked if the houses are considered individually, and the more scattered they lie the more the individuality asserts itself, so that in a general way it may be said that where they are found in groups they mostly display those characteristics which we now propose to describe.

Our study of the facts applies mainly to the following groups of common lodging-houses :—

Central London, about 80 Houses in St. Giles's and the Strand.					
East	„	„	150	„	Whitechapel.
South	„	„	65	„	Southwark.
West	„	„	{ 25	„	*Westminster.
			{ 55	„	Notting Hill.

\* The part of London popularly known as Westminster, lying to the south and west of the Abbey.

and applies in greatest detail to the Central London section, as will be seen further on.

In houses, such as we are concerned with, the kitchen is the common living room and provides the attraction of free social intercourse. A bright coke fire is kept burning day and night for cooking and general use. The furniture of this room, strong and of the roughest description, consists of a long table occupying the centre of the room, with wooden benches on either side, and perhaps a few common chairs in addition. The cooking apparatus provided is of the simplest kind. A few frying-pans or gridirons serve in turn to prepare for table, herring, saveloy, rashers, steak, or other form of food belonging to a succession of guests. The quality or quantity of such food betokens as often reckless extravagance as extreme poverty, while the limited number of cooking utensils is often a source of discord. Of crockery there is next to none; a few old jam pots will often be the only provision for tea or coffee. Tin teapots are usually provided, but smaller articles, such as cutlery, are too portable to be used in common, and clasp knives will be produced from the pocket; spoons are not always thought of, and we have ample illustration of the fact that fingers were made before forks, whilst an old newspaper will often supply the want of a plate. Seated on and around the tables are to be seen groups of men engaged in games of chance or skill with dice or cards of an ancient appearance, or in recounting anecdotes and experiences too often ill-fitted for polite ears, varied with song, dance, and discussion—political or theological—while beer, gin, and tobacco abound. As the evening wears on, or morning approaches, the occupants drop off one by one to the sleeping rooms. These are usually, though not always, well-ventilated and contain rows of small iron bedsteads, arranged as in hospital wards, only closer together, the number in each room being carefully adapted to the cubic space required by law. The bedsteads are provided with mattress, rug or blanket, and



sometimes also with sheets, which are changed once a week. Somewhere about the premises, oftenest in an outside shed, there is a supply of water, washing tubs, and towels for general use, and other conveniences are generally adequate. For the class of houses we are describing, the prices vary from 3*d* to 6*d* a night, the most usual charge being 4*d*. To each applicant for a night's lodging are given two numbers, one the number of his bed and the other of the room. Payment is required in advance, but some credit will be given to well-known customers who can be trusted to pay as circumstances permit. Weekly payment secures a reduction, equal usually to one night or "Sunday free." Any person able to pay can obtain a night's lodging, no question is asked, and names are not taken. A man may lodge for years in a house and only be known to the landlord or his "deputy" by the number of the bed he occupies or a nickname given by the other lodgers. The landlord undertakes no responsibility for the safety of a lodger's clothing or other property, unless specially deposited with him, and anything brought to the house is at the owner's risk. A man must be very sharp to remain long in such places without being the victim of some petty theft, and it sometimes happens that people are robbed of all their clothing while asleep in bed.

All classes of the poor, from A through B and C to D and E, that is, from the disorderly non-industrial classes upwards through the casually and irregularly employed to those in receipt of constant pay, are to be found in these houses; but there can be no doubt that class A, the non-industrial and disorderly, predominates, and that classes B, C, D, and E, will each in turn account for a decreasing proportion.

In the large group of common lodging-houses which we find in St. Clement's, Notting Hill, a considerable number of the inmates belong to classes B and C, and appear to earn a precarious living by hawking flowers, both cut and in pots,



in the wealthy district of South Kensington, and by hay-making, fruit and hop-picking, while a still larger number, undoubtedly of class A, gain a livelihood by begging or levying blackmail as best they can in such localities as Queen's Gate, Gloucester Road, and Cromwell Road. They prowl about the richer squares or terraces, and round the stations of the District Railway Company, and too easily impose on the soft-hearted by glib tales of woe. In this group, and still more in that belonging to Westminster, are to be found discharged soldiers, as to whom more will be said in the next chapter. It would seem that they are mostly to be found in those houses which have for keeper or deputy a man who has also been in the service. Taking the group of houses which exist in St. Giles's and round Covent Garden Market, we find that many of those who inhabit them are casual porters or labourers about the market, or small hawkers of fruit and flowers, while proximity to the theatres and advertising establishments makes these houses a convenient home for "Sandwich men" earning 1s or 1s 2d a day, or for those finding employment as theatrical "supers" at 1s 6d a night. There are also many chances of picking up sixpence or a shilling by finding carriages or calling cabs, which tend to make the neighbourhood of the Strand attractive to the denizens of the common lodging-house. In the Whitechapel district many porters and dock labourers would seem to reside permanently in these houses, which, there as elsewhere, are the resort of the most brutal of their class. The houses in Southwark do not seem to show any peculiar features; their character is certainly no better.

While there are among the inhabitants of these houses many who never do an honest day's work of any kind, but live by gambling, thieving, or fraud, spending their lives alternately in the common lodging-house and the gaol, there are also a considerable number who excite our utmost pity—poor "derelicts of humanity" who, from sheer inability,

whether mental or bodily, cannot work, or if they attempt to work are worse than useless. These would seem to spend their lives interchangeably between the common lodging-house, the night shelter, the casual ward, and the workhouse.

Herein we find the connection between the inmates of common lodging-houses and the pauper class, a connection not to be wondered at. But the extent of this connection is remarkable. The books of the relieving officer in a Central London Union show that out of 1518 persons admitted to the workhouse during the first nine months of 1889, no less than 746 came direct from common lodging-houses, only 16 came from houses where lodgers are taken in but which are not registered, 296 from casual wards as homeless persons, and only 460 from private houses. A similar examination of the books of an East End Union during four months ending February 18th, 1890, shows that out of 2654 persons, 1073 were from common lodging-houses; and in a West End Union, out of 1065 admitted, 616 came directly from these houses.

The common lodging-houses for females only would appear to be almost entirely occupied by women of the lowest class—thieves, prostitutes, and beggars, with a very small proportion of casual earners such as crossing-sweepers, basket-hawkers, charwomen, and, in the Notting Hill district, washerwomen. With regard to the houses for “married couples” the less said the better—there may be exceptions, but for the most part they are simply houses of accommodation, and a source of contamination and degradation to the districts in which they are to be found; only to be tolerated in so far as, or so long as, their suppression might encourage still worse developments and exhibitions of vice. In considering the worst of the common lodging-houses, it must not be forgotten that the streets of “furnished apartments” provide a still lower depth, and that any shelter vice may seek is better than that open

depravity of the streets, of which we frequently have such fearful revelations.

In common lodging-houses social distinctions are recognized and even rigidly adhered to. The class divisions in this lowest society follow much the same lines as are to be found in the world outside. Though bearing all alike the stamp of poverty and suffering, the one as often as the other under the misfortune of detected crime, a man of education or literary attainments will hold himself far above the casual labourer or handicraftsman, and a broken-down clerk or shop-assistant would hesitate to frequent the company of common beggars.

Among the better educated section of the class, the employment of addressing envelopes and circulars affords a means of living. This is the only form of employment carried on in the common lodging-houses (unless indeed the lucrative occupation of begging-letter writing, of which there is no end, be dignified with the name of employment), and a large number of men, amounting to some hundreds, are to be found in some of the better houses in St. Giles's and Whitechapel, thus engaged. By applying to one of the several large firms of envelope addressers, any man of sufficient education who presents a fairly respectable appearance can, as occasion serves, obtain his share of the work. A list of addresses is handed to him with a corresponding number of envelopes or wrappers. These are taken to the writing room provided at some of the better-class houses and there addressed. The pay is usually 3s per 1000; but under a process of competition, following the accustomed methods of "sweating," this rate may, when work is slack, be reduced to 2s 6d or even 2s. This employment, as may be supposed, is irregular and precarious, being most active at election times. When pressure occurs the work may continue all night.



The keepers of the low-class common lodging-houses can only be said to match the occupants. They, or rather their deputies, are too often men and women of the lowest grade whose ideas of morality and conduct are exceedingly elastic—nor is this to be wondered at, for any householder can register his house as a common lodging-house provided he complies with the statutory regulations. The certificate of character which may be demanded, signed by three inhabitant householders of the parish, is not difficult to obtain and is obviously of little value. Moreover it does not touch, except indirectly, upon the character of the deputy, the man with whom in most cases the actual management rests.\*

Reform in respect of the conditions under which these houses are registered is much needed, and it is to be desired that the provisions of the Statutes with regard to harbouring thieves or reputed thieves, and the exercise of surveillance over known tramps and vagrants, could be more uniformly and firmly enforced, as also the regulations against overcrowding.† Such reform should be in the direction of a more efficient and careful selection of those who are registered as keepers, and should be extended to their deputies. Provision, too, should be made on the plan adopted in Glasgow, and in some model common lodging-houses in London, for the presence of “warders,” or responsible persons to maintain order and decency at night, or when the houses are crowded. Especial regard also should be had to construction and means of exit. Many of these houses are existing side by side with one another or in close contiguity; and ample facilities exist

\* An instance has recently occurred of a respectable man giving up a well-paid situation as keeper of a model lodging-house, owing to the disgusting habits of some of the inmates.

† Spare bedding is too often available for a “shake down” on the floor after the inspector’s rounds.



for communication between them at the backs, or in some instances, certainly not long since, even if they no longer exist, by underground passages. If any individual is "wanted" by the police, word is rapidly passed from house to house, and it is a simple matter to elude pursuit. A rabbit tracked through the intricate windings of his "bury" has less chance of escape from a ferret, than a criminal from the hands of an officer of justice, when once he has found refuge in certain streets where these houses lie thick.

It will have been seen that the St. Giles's district of Central London is one of the principal centres of common lodging-house life, and during the last four years the St. Giles's Charity Organization Committee have had under consideration no less than 255 cases of people frequenting them; 157 of the number were actually living in these houses at the time, and either applied for assistance on their own initiative or were sent by charitable people and invited to tell their story. The remaining 98, who nearly all admitted that they had habitually lived in common lodging-houses, were selected from St. Giles's casual ward as, *primâ facie*, capable of being assisted. This took place immediately after the Trafalgar Square excitement (of which the story is told in the next chapter), when the current chances of charitable relief seem to have attracted into the casual wards many of the class usually inhabiting common lodging-houses. Though facts regarding people of this description are exceedingly hard to ascertain with any degree of accuracy, the notes of cases recorded in the office of the committee make it possible to give some particulars of them, and they present a sad picture of misery and hopelessness, of vice and inability. Much trouble and pains were expended in trying to obtain the fullest information, as well as endeavouring to raise those who appeared capable of being helped to a condition of indepen-

dence. Some refused to give information of any sort, others gave an inaccurate or false account of themselves, but some freely disclosed the true story of their lives. They were all asked to give names and addresses of references—former employers, friends, relatives, or anyone who might be able to give aid or information as to the past. Here, again, some refused or gave false references, whilst others genuinely complied. An analysis of the results will throw some light on the condition of the class generally :

Of the whole number (255) 41 refused to give any account of themselves or did not accept the invitation to come to the office ; 34, after giving a certain amount of information, disappeared ; 11 gave false references ; 76 could give no reference, or such as they gave proved worthless ; and only in 93 cases was any information at all valuable or trustworthy to be obtained. Of these 93, so far as information by reference went, 58 had previously borne a good character, while that of the remainder was doubtful or bad. Of those who had borne a good character, 28 owed their miserable position entirely to bodily infirmity ; 14 had sunk into it for no apparent reason—they were simply “rolling stones” ; while with regard to the rest want of energy and faults of temper accounted for the position of some, leaving only a very small minority of cases where slackness of work in the particular trade followed could be justly reckoned as the cause. Indeed, very few even alleged slackness or want of work as a cause of their distress until this became the question of the day in connection with the Trafalgar Square disturbance. Of 35 bad or doubtful characters as to whom information was obtained, 9 were drunkards, 2 were thieves, and 1 woman was notoriously vicious. The 128 who refused inquiry, disappeared, or gave false references, must, we fear, most of them be added to the total of those whose antecedents would not bear investigation, making 197 out of 255.

Of those who gave false references or refused to give any, the information obtained was derived from their own statements, some of which were no doubt worthy of credit, while others contained no more truth than it suited the narrator to furnish, but whatever reliance is to be placed on the statements made, they may be summarized for what they are worth, and may be of some value so far as they relate to matters as to which there could be little object in deceit :

In 235 cases the people stated that they were—

MALES.	{	Married men	...	...	28	}	206
		*Single men	...	...	148		
		Widowers ...	...	...	30		
FEMALES.	{	Married women	...	...	7	}	29
		Single women	...	...	8		
		Widows ...	...	...	14		

It will be seen that here is no family life.

Out of 228 cases, in which the ages varied from 14 to 66, there were—

Under 25	...	...	...	41
Between 25 and 40	...	...	...	104
„ 40 and 60	...	...	...	74
Over 60...	...	...	...	9
				228

These figures, too, tell their story. Old people seldom remain to live this life. Before old age is reached the workhouse or infirmary draws a veil over the closing scene, for these unhappy victims of crime, vice, infirmity or misfortune.

Including some of those whose failure in life was not attributable to bad character, there were in all 204 persons,

\* "Single" meaning in the majority of instances that they are, at least for the present, unencumbered.

whose condition might perhaps be accounted for, as follows :—

Confirmed loafing habits by preference	...	35
Failure in trade—irregularity of employment		50
Extravagance or improvidence of those who had been originally quite well off	...	9
Drink	... ..	40
Physical infirmity	... ..	39
Mental incapacity, inability to learn	...	6
Uncontrollable temper...	... ..	2
Thieves and confirmed beggars	... ..	19
Young people deserted by their relations	...	3
Lunatic	... ..	1

---

204

A prevailing characteristic of most was the love of drink, but this was, with but little doubt, engendered as often as not by the unhappy circumstances of their surroundings, and it would hardly be fair to state it as a primary cause of failure, except in the 40 cases where it was distinctly ascertained. In only 40 cases was it considered expedient to offer assistance, and it is doubtful if one-third of these have received any permanent benefit.\*

If such as these are not chosen from the best of those who inhabit common lodging-houses, neither do they fully represent the worst or most hopeless cases, for

\* It may be interesting to note that during four years from 1886 to 1889, the Whitechapel Committee of the C.O.S. dealt with just 200 applicants from common lodging-houses, with the following results :—

Referred to the Poor Law, ineligible or undeserving	124
Withdrawn ... ..	35
Reported upon only ... ..	4
Referred to other agencies ... ..	6
Assisted in various ways ... ..	31

---

200

During a similar period the St. George's, Hanover Square, Committee dealt with 162 applicants of a similar kind, of which there were—

Assisted	...	24
Not assisted	...	138

Of these 26 were old soldiers, and 107 were confirmed beggars.



criminals seek aid by more direct means, and those whose cases will not bear investigation soon learn the uselessness of any application, and pass the word to their friends that "it's no use telling lies to the like of them, they're sure to find you out."

On the whole, it must be said that the typical inhabitants of an ordinary common lodging-house belong to the lowest scale of humanity. Happily their numbers are small compared to the whole population, but that they have recently increased seems undeniable, and a fact which raises serious questions. The increase was very marked in 1888-9, and the police returns lately issued show a still further increase.

It is noteworthy that the multiplication of this unsatisfactory class in London has been accompanied by an increase in that form of charity which supplies free food and shelter without discrimination. To say that this class is brought into existence by unwise or ill-regulated charity would be too much. The roots undoubtedly lie deeper, and more complicated causes are involved. But that such charity concentrates and aggravates the evil who can doubt?

---

## CHAPTER V.

### HOMELESS MEN.\*

---

THE homeless class, whether casual workers or vagrants, seem to have been the source of as much anxiety to our forefathers as to ourselves. There are in every generation those who, without any other special defect of character, have a roving disposition and a general distaste for a quiet regular life or regular employment, be it brain work or manual labour. Though, at the outset, not necessarily either lazy or at all worthless, such men are apt to drift into idle ways. The good intentions which may cause them to work, even vehemently, for a time, will not suffice to maintain that life of steady, unbroken, laborious routine which is demanded of those who would succeed. Failure is dubbed bad luck, habits of idleness follow in natural course, and at last these men become industrially, if not morally, worthless. In every generation, too, we find the race of "sturdy vagabonds and valiant beggars" ready to beg, borrow, and perhaps steal, rather than to work for their livelihood. These two classes, with the addition of those who from illness, infirmity, age, incompetence or misfortune, are thrown out of employment, are the sources whence homeless men are drawn.

These men, of whom there are always a large number in London, with some women and a few children, are closely associated with the dwellers in common lodging-houses and occasionally sojourn there, or elsewhere in the poorest quarters of the Metropolis, when their funds permit this escape from the cold comfort of the embankment or the

\* This paper refers to men only. The number of homeless women apart from those who come under the operation of Rescue Societies is comparatively small.

parks, the shelter of an archway, or hospitality of some open staircase, or from the regulations of night refuge and casual ward. They are not hopeful subjects; not easy to raise out of this existence when they have once settled down to it.

Our ancestors took a severe view of vagrants of this description, and their presence doubtless at times threatened to become a serious social danger. In the reigns of the Tudors the desire to put an end to the vagrant difficulty is attested by the passing of Act after Act; the Tudor efforts culminating in the famous 43rd Elizabeth, reported to owe the outlines of its plan to the genius of Lord Bacon. But even his interference can hardly be said to have done much, and succeeding generations continued to legislate; planning, hoping and failing with depressing regularity. It is noteworthy how each in turn imagined that the fresh laws enacted would entirely suppress the evils at which they were aimed. Nevertheless, the evils still remain. By the formation of casual wards in 1864-5 it was no doubt hoped that the dream of the Poor Law Commissioners of 1834 would be at last fulfilled and that "the assurance that no one need perish from want would repress the vagrant and mendicant by disarming them of their weapon—the plea of impending starvation." How remote is the realization of this dream needs no telling.

The numbers of those resorting to casual wards apparently varies in different districts according to the terms of relief;—the period of enforced detention, the task of work, or the convenience or inconvenience of the hours of discharge;—all of which depend to some extent upon the decision of the local officials.

The dread of the unknown made the bath formerly a terror to the sturdiest vagabond; now familiarity has produced liking rather than contempt. In winter, the bath, which is heated to the taste of the bather, is appreciated for its warmth, in summer for its cleansing properties. Skilly,



too, is an attraction in the cold weather. Skilly for breakfast and supper, and the bath on admission, are now universal in the casual wards of London ; though there are many other points in which the regulations vary. Oakum picking is usually preferred by the casual to stone breaking, the associated wards to the cellular system, and the experienced vagrant will wend his way to the places where he expects pea soup for dinner rather than to those wards in which bread and cheese constitute the bill of fare. Beggars will ever be choosers if they can. If in any district the regulations are exceptionally strict, these are thought to bear hardly upon the unfortunate and deserving, and a demand arises for a kinder *regime* such as philanthropic refuges and night shelters usually provide. With free lodgings and, even in the most frugal of the refuges, a good hunch of bread, to which in some cases is added whatever else by way of food the man can bring in, with few questions asked, and with the hope of further charitable assistance, it is not surprising that some of the refuges should present no statistics beyond the report "we are always full." "What, do work for my breakfast! No, thank you! I can get it without that," exclaimed a sturdy vagabond who applied to me for money to get a night's lodging, and to whom I had suggested the casual ward. He professed to have come up from the country to London to look for work. Indeed, it can scarcely be denied that considerable inducement is offered to a very worthless class to come where so much provision is made for them, while even those disposed to work are tempted to return regularly to London as to a parent's roof after any temporary job elsewhere. For instance, a man I know had been in a refuge in London, and from there had obtained work in Wales. This job finished, instead of seeking fresh work in the country, or finding none to his hand, he came straight back to London, spending on his fare a large part of his earnings, and applied for re-admission at the refuge.



Another, an emigrant to Australia, falling out of work there, contrived to return, and straightway repaired to the refuge which had sent him out.

What manner of men are they to whom the night refuge, or casual ward, opens its doors? Let us test them by sample. From September, 1888, to September, 1889, 268 homeless men came before the St. James's Committee of the Charity Organization Society, sent chiefly from the Ham Yard Hospice—a refuge under careful management, where the rule is adopted of insisting upon investigation in every case. It is not an "average sample drawn from the bulk," but itself a selection of the better material to be found amongst this class. The regulations of any refuge become known; those who shrink from investigation, or, more simply, do not care to waste their time by going where nothing is to be got, keep away. Amongst those who do come, some refuse from the first to give any information, and so drop out of the list, while others decline to submit to the preliminary conditions. Nor is the information obtained about these naturally selected cases, either complete or altogether trustworthy. It must be taken for whatever its value may be. Willingness to submit to investigation is not always the *primâ facie* evidence in a man's favour which it is often imagined to be, as men will often give references well knowing them to be false or unsatisfactory; they take their chance. Nor is refusal to answer questions in every instance as adverse a sign as might appear—a fact which only adds to the confusion. Another difficulty is looseness about names, not necessarily with intent to mislead, but obviously very misleading.

Such as it is, here is the information in regard to these 286 men:—

(1.) As to Character.

Good character ...	...	...	...	...	60	} 286
Indifferent or fair ...	...	...	...	...	146	
None, doubtful or bad ...	...	...	...	...	80	

Among those accounted bad, drink or gambling will be in

most cases the *causa malorum*. On the whole, considering how hard it is for "an empty sack to stand upright," and how apt character is to wither under investigation, these figures seem rather favourable and so far as they go indicate that these unfortunate men may possibly have been, at the outset, no worse morally than those who succeed.

(2.) As to Employment.

Claiming some profession or trade	...	...	50	} 286
Skilled labourers or artisans	...	...	95	
Unskilled labourers	...	...	130	
No particulars (except that of these, three were just out of prison.)	...	...	11	

It is not easy to draw any very definite conclusions from such data, but the large proportion claiming a profession or trade (by trade is here meant buying and selling) is remarkable, and may perhaps be taken to support the view that want of mental capacity or of steadiness of character are the ruling causes of misfortune, for where most of anything is demanded there will the lack of it be most seriously felt.

(3) As to Age.

From 20 to 25 years	...	...	55	} 286
„ 25 „ 40 „	...	...	138	
„ 40 „ 60 „	...	...	74	
Over 60	...	...	5	
No age given	...	...	14	

The limit of age at the Hospice was sixty, which accounts for the small number over this age. Little reliance can usually be placed on statements of age, but, beyond the desire of a man who was otherwise ineligible to pass himself as below sixty, there seems no reason for falsification, and the large proportion of these men in the vigorous years of life is notable. The explanation probably lies in the extent to which this class, as it ages, settles down to workhouse life.\*

\* If the proportion of ages had been as in the population generally they would have stood as follows :—

20 to 25	...	...	56	} 267
25 „ 40	...	...	116	
40 „ 60	...	...	95	

(4.) As to Marriage.					
Single	...	...	...	...	191
Married	}	...	...	...	60
Widowers					
No particulars	...	...	...	...	35

286

Though marriage is undoubtedly to some extent connected with success, it is too much to suppose that these figures are correct. The proportion of those who are not and never have been married is unreasonable. It seems that married men in trouble will very often deny wife and children for the time.

(5.) As to Birthplace.					
Londoners	...	...	...	...	62
Other parts of England	...	...	...	...	134
Scotch	...	...	...	...	17
Irish	...	...	...	...	18
Continental foreigners	...	...	...	...	15
Americans	...	...	...	...	5
Indian or West Indian	...	...	...	...	7
No particulars	...	...	...	...	28

286

Homeless men are naturally wanderers. The proportion of Londoners shown here is possibly above what might ordinarily be expected in night refuges; many being at the time attracted from the regular population of the common lodging-houses into night shelters or the casual wards by exceptional chances of becoming in this way eligible for other forms of charitable relief.\*

Figures such as these are not enough in themselves to take us very far, but to anyone who has tried to help men of this class to find work and so retrieve their position, they suggest a good deal, and some general conclusions may be reached.

There are doubtless some good working men found on tramp who only need the opportunity of work to do well,

\* There seems to be a consensus of opinion among those who have to do with homeless people that the countrymen are more readily employed in London for unskilled labour than the Londoners; and that thus the immigration of the countryman often makes the Londoner homeless by superseding him.



but such individuals usually can and do "put themselves to labour" and trouble no one. Of those who fail to do this there are some—there may perhaps be many—who are respectable and willing to work, but lacking energy and "backbone," can neither "go" nor "stay," neither get work nor keep it; and on such the habit of a vagrant life grows. These can be helped by the strong hand of true friendship, but not I believe in any other way. Here is an instance:—A man out of the St. Giles's casual ward was assisted to obtain work at a carriage builder's. For eighteen months it was never known when he took his wages on Saturday, whether he would come to work again on the Monday, and it was only by the unwearied efforts of a fellow-workman, through whose aid the work had been found, that he was induced to stick to his place. The man has literally been "dragged up" into regular work. When he did not appear, his friend would go to fetch him, and only after two years of this moral suasion, can it be reported that the man "is getting sensible"; he has taken a room of his own and is trying to be "a bit respectable." Of such efforts we have rarely any record; such help from the strong to the weak may be often given, but its action will generally lie outside of any society for the relief of distress. It will be given to those who receive it by their intimates, those of their own class, their working fellows.

Somewhat lower in the scale, morally, are those who, easy going and indolent, manage in some way to evade the pressure that drives others to labour. They may be capable enough. Their ideal is "to have a good master" in whose pleasant service "they would eat and drink of the best and no work would they do."

Then there are those who are "willing to do anything" and can do nothing; and saddest of all the men who can do just one thing and that a thing no longer wanted. For example I know a man, with a wife and family, who had regular employment at one factory for twelve years in



folding paper for packets of black lead. Machinery for this purpose was invented to which a boy could attend. The man was thrown out of his employment, and though still only twenty-eight could not adapt himself to other work. He has fallen into the ranks of the casual painters and has never had regular work since. In busy times he helps to lay on paint which he does not know how to mix, and in slack times does nothing.

For such as these there is the casual labour market with its painful friction—a market of which the convenience to the hirer depends on the extent of its unemployed margin; on the readiness, that is, with which “a man” can be produced at a moment’s notice to perform some chance service for sixpence or a shilling; or to take a day’s work, or a week’s work, or work for the season, as the case may be; and, service rendered, pass quietly out of sight.\*

Casual labour plays no small part in the life of a great city. We have seen it at the docks and at the market, and besides this the amount required at the West End during the London season is very great indeed. It is not only at the large firms, shops, hotels, clubs and theatres that extra hands are employed, but the impetus in every trade during the season carries the work downward, so to speak, in every branch, and in May and June many men with little skill and with short and indifferent characters, or with none at all, find it easy in London to obtain employment in various ways. The exhibitions, of which every year lately

\* If work of this sort be “found” for anyone, care must be taken not to displace some other and perhaps worthier man. I remember a case in which an applicant for assistance was thrown out of employment with a firm for whom he had worked for five or six years, to make room for a man specially recommended by an important client. Moreover, “finding work” for anyone is apt to be a Sisyphean task. When the job is finished, back comes the man expecting more from the same source. The lesson of self-reliance is never learnt, the “rolling stone” only rolls the more for your interference.

has had at least one, have been a fruitful source of chance work. Besides the numbers of attendants, porters, waiters, &c., the Roman Coliseum at the Italian Exhibition and the battle-scenes of the Irish have alone employed some hundreds of men while the representations lasted. The Gladiator of ancient Rome, could he have seen the travesty of his dying agonies, would probably fail to sympathize with the sufferings of his poor imitator, who when the weather was wet must lie prostrate on the damp ground till the time arrived for carrying from the arena the dead body of the man he was trying to represent.

Whether the casual labour of the West End which hangs upon the skirts of wealth and ministers to luxury is an increasing element in London life, and whether the supply of such labour causes the demand for it or the demand the supply, may be hard to say. Increasing or not, and whatever its genesis, the thing is unwholesome and there is sadly too much of it.

Among the saddest cases of those who look to casual labour are discharged soldiers, army reserve men; and their number seems to be steadily on the increase. In a report drawn up in 1887 it is stated that, out of 293 homeless men who came before the St. James's Committee in twelve months, 25 had been soldiers. In 1889 the returns show 77 out of 286, and of these 77 twenty stated that they had had no work since they left the army. At the refuges army pensioners are most frequently found towards the end of the quarter; on receipt of their pension money they leave. After this is expended they may manage to exist on casual labour till towards the end of the next quarter, when they may again not know where to lay their heads. Of these 77 soldiers, thirty-six had left the army with distinctly good characters. There are few things more dispiriting than to watch the deterioration which befalls many of these soldiers, some of them quite young men still, often under thirty, with good conduct badges and good

discharges, who, from having no settled employment, and missing the accustomed control, gradually become more and more demoralized by the irregular life they lead. The deferred pay of £15 to £35 they seem to think will last for ever, and until it is gone, often make no effort at all for the future. Realizing at last the hard facts of life for such as they, many of them feel bitter regret at having left the army and would fain re-enlist if they could.

The cases we have described have been hitherto such as are more or less able and willing to work, but among the homeless there are still more difficult subjects. There are those who are disabled or incapacitated for labour by age or bodily or mental infirmity; for whom, if relatives or friends do not intervene, there is ultimately no resource but the workhouse. Finally there are the "sturdy vagabonds" who, with the aid of irregular chance jobs, lean permanently on charitable assistance, the "valiant beggars" who subsist for the most part on the alms they collect from the charity of the public.

Here as with the casual workers we encounter a law of supply and demand, and again we do not know which evokes the other, the beggars or the charity; and again we can safely say that the relation, whatever its origin, is very unwholesome, and that there is far too much of it.

It is, however, an easy matter to lay down principles and make classifications. The difficulty as usual lies in applying them. Who are the incapable? who the worthless? How can you safeguard charity from fraud and yet leave it one spark of generosity? How work on the "general lines of well-considered principle" and not destroy spontaneity? The quality of charity, like mercy, "is not strained." One thing, however, we may say. There should be no careless giving. Let those who give awake to the responsibilities involved, and if they decline to accept the somewhat hard lines of thought-out principle, let them honestly seek their own experience. When they



give, let them give sufficiently, and watch the consequences of every gift.

The question who are the homeless and what can be done for them, has been pressed upon our consideration by a recent rapid increase in their numbers. The subjoined table gives the numbers admitted to the casual wards in London year by year, since 1882.

		Total admissions.		Average no. of admissions per night.	Average no. of inmates per night.
1882	...	294,960	...	808*	814
1883	...	125,906	...	345	482
1884	...	116,132	...	319	510
1885	...	109,943	...	301	580
1886	...	108,293	...	297	578
1887	...	141,733	...	388†	738
1888	...	241,958	...	663†	1136
1889	...	182,299	...	500	960
1890	...	154,507			

There is now accommodation in the casual wards for about 1800 (1200 men and 600 women and children). On March 4th, 1888, the highest point was touched, when 1383 vagrants were received. In the refuges there is accommodation for about 1250 persons. None of the refuges are often full; the largest has not been full for many years.

It will be remembered that the year 1886 was one of great trade depression, and that its winter was marked by serious distress among the poor of London. The Lord Mayor called for aid, and £80,000 was subscribed and distributed with most demoralizing effect. The fund served but to attract the worthless and unnerve the struggling poor, while it mocked both by its insufficiency.

\* This was the year in which the Act providing for stricter detention was passed; but practically it did not come into operation until the following year.

† The autumn of 1887, and winter of 1887-8, was the Trafalgar Square period.



In 1887 trade did not improve, but as the year wore on, less food and money were given. It was the year of the Queen's Jubilee, remarkable for its long spell of splendid summer weather. The "unemployed" were very numerous, and more than ever habituated to idleness. The fine weather made camping-out pleasant rather than otherwise, and Trafalgar Square and St. James's Park were occupied nightly; the police stepped among the sleeping groups; nothing was thought of it. The cost of the "doss" was saved, while a little money went a long way, for food was at its cheapest.

When October came, the weather changed suddenly, and the nights were frosty. But already camping-out had grown into a habit, and the expense of the night's lodging had been dropped out of the budget. The poor folk still slept out, and were content to lie with only a newspaper between them and the cold stones. This state of things attracted attention. The newspapers published accounts of it, and the public imagination was aroused. Here at any rate was genuine distress. Some charitable agencies distributed tickets for food or lodging, others the food itself, taking cart-loads of bread into the Square. An American is reported to have scrambled loose silver amongst the crowd.

Under such stimulus the trouble grew worse, and again, as was the case with the Mansion House Fund, the organized societies for the relief of the poor had to push to the front and seek to deal with the distress and prevent the disorder which threatened as the result of its unregulated relief. Under their influence the mistake of 1886 was not repeated, but at the same time more rather than less was given, and we see in the swollen numbers of those who were admitted to the casual wards evidence, according to the point of view taken, either of the sad need of such provision or of its baneful influence.

It is much to be feared that the more provision is made for the relief of this class, unless it be done with judg-

ment, the greater will their numbers be. For whilst a man of simple vagabond habits is enabled to pass on from casual ward to refuge, and from one refuge to another during the winter, and to live by a few chance jobs of work in the summer, he will make no effort to improve; he is content with his position in life.

To deal with this difficulty it would seem to be essential that there should be co-operation and communication between refuge and refuge, and between them and the work-houses and casual wards, and if possible a common basis of action. To differentiate the treatment of those who apply for aid, according to their character and the circumstances of their case, is the object to be aimed at. The State can treat the sick differently from the rest, and make distinctions according to age; it might perhaps go further in suiting the relief to the case relieved; but its rules must be in effect deterrent and its action can do but little in so lifting up the fallen that they may be able to walk once more amongst independent men; nor can its machinery be well adapted for giving temporary relief in such a way as to prevent a fall or tide over a time of difficulty. Such action lies in the field of private charity, and of this field refuges and night shelters are the last hedge. These refuges have a special work to do. To fill them night after night with those for whom nothing can be done beyond what the State is bound to do, is to mis-apply valuable resources most wastefully.

It would not be desirable to assign any precise limits to the action of such institutions or to stereotype the methods pursued; but the means in each case should be strictly adapted to the ends. If it be temporary help that is aimed at, chronic cases should not share it; and still more should it be seen that the help given does not tend to make a chronic out of a temporary case. If the object be to give another chance under better auspices to those who have failed, but are honestly anxious to try again, a careful

selection is imperatively necessary. A refuge having this aim cannot open its doors very widely.

The basis of combined action must be a sifting and classification of all applicants, so that they may be dealt with in the manner most suited to their peculiarities. The lowest strata, cases apparently hopeless, can only be left to the casual wards, and to the casual wards all refuges should relegate any cases which seem *primâ facie* unfit for their own action. Refuges would under these circumstances rightly be made superior in comfort to the casual wards, the occupants be allowed to remain in them for a longer time and given greater facilities of ingress and egress; and every care taken to avoid as much as possible anything tending to lower or degrade. Sedulously to protect those whom you seek to raise from the companionship of worthless characters is of the utmost importance. To attain this it would be necessary that every applicant should pass muster as *primâ facie* suitable before admission, and until the *primâ facie* case has been confirmed by inquiry, should be kept apart in some way. It might possibly be arranged that the reception of not hopeless cases should be the special duty of some refuges. They would provide as it were an ante-chamber to the house of help. It may be that the relieving officers might draw distinctions, and in place of the casual ward offer temporary accommodation in the house to those who promised to be suitable cases for the helping hand of a refuge.

It would be best that the organization for each union should centre in the Parish offices; that the refuges should be represented, and that everyone for whom anything better could be done should be accommodated otherwise than in the casual wards, in private refuges, or in the house, as the case may be. The accommodation in the house, and in any refuges which undertook temporary cases pending inquiry, would be available for a few days only; inquiry made, each case would be relegated to some other agency—or branch



of the same agency it might be—or discharged, and if so discharged would become a casual-ward case. Some such system is needed. It is pleaded that it is derogatory and a contamination for unfortunate but respectable men to pass the workhouse doors at all; and that they will rather starve than submit to such a condition. But it is a lesser evil that they, and all who are proper objects for private aid, should for once come in contact with their worthless companions in distress than that, as is now the case, they should never be separated from them; for at present there is little to choose between the company at any refuge and that of the casual wards; the same inmates are well-known at each. Nor would the pride of any refuse to take the course suggested if it were the regular method, and if it were well-known that every workhouse was the starting-point of private charity.

To the action of such charity we assign no limits. It is not refuges alone that should associate themselves with the administration of the poor law. It is only in very various ways that the manifold troubles of poverty can be met. We do not wish to assert that any case is absolutely hopeless; we only ask that the means should be adapted to the end, and that each charitable society should deal only with such cases as come within its proper scope; that each individual attempt should consciously range itself in line with other forms of public or private action, and so take its place in the general effort to deal with destitution.

---

Since the foregoing was written an attempt has been made to place the various refuges in communication with each other, and a committee on which most of these institutions are represented has been formed to discuss the possibility of united action. As a first step in this direction a census was taken on the night of Friday, January 16th, 1891, of all who were sleeping in these places, the results of which are given below. There are nine



refuges or shelters affording amongst them accommodation for 818 men and 313 women, with further accommodation for 120 persons available for either sex according to the need. Thus there is room for 1251 persons in all. Excepting the men's side of the Newport Market refuge, none of these places were quite full; some of them were less than half full. The rules of admission vary, but in every case some discretion is left with the acting superintendent, and I believe few, if any, were turned away on the night in question. On the whole the total numbers accommodated were 712 men, 193 women, and 33 children, or 938 persons in all. In the casual wards on the same night there were 688 men, 117 women, and four children, or 809 in all, the total accommodation being for 1800. As to the Salvation Army shelters no exact particulars were obtained. There are five of these shelters, one being in connection with a workshop, but as admission is rarely given except on payment in money or its equivalent in work at the workshop, they stand on different ground from the refuges we are dealing with. I am informed, however, that they were by no means full at the time.

It may be interesting to recall the night of January 16th. It was very cold. After an almost continuous frost of seven or eight weeks there had been a slight thaw, but the frost had set in again and hardened the surface of the still solid ice. Part of the Serpentine was illuminated for skating. It was not a night when anyone would wilfully walk the streets. Either on this night or the night before it was that the watchers of the Salvation Army reported 164 homeless men lingering in need of shelter on or near Blackfriars Bridge; about these men it was afterwards explained that they were drawn thither by the hope of receiving tickets for coffee and shelter distributed at that place by a missionary. Of these tickets 100 to 200 were given away on certain nights in each week during the winter. This may not be the only enterprise of

the sort, and outside of all organized provision of shelter for the homeless in the London streets it is likely that in bitter frost and fog very many of those who have 4*d* to spare and happen to be out late themselves will give it, at whatever sacrifice of principle, to provide a bed for a shivering wayfarer. The chance of some such stroke of luck, once or perhaps twice repeated, which would send them money in hand to the warm kitchen of some common lodging-house, may be enough to keep men in the streets at any rate till midnight. In such weather half-starved, ill-clad men could hardly pass the whole night without food and shelter and survive, and we are assured by the police that throughout the long frost there have been no cases of death from exposure. It is probable that frost and snow bring as many advantages as disadvantages to the very casual or homeless class. The sweeping of snow for the vestries or in front of private houses or on the ice, the putting on and lending of skates, provides profitable employment, and may enable many to go to common lodging-houses who would otherwise have been found in the casual wards or refuges. It is also possible that the severe frost has this year prevented many from coming up to London to share in the Christmas festivities provided by the benevolent. At any rate it is undoubtedly a fact that the casual wards and refuges have been less full this winter than they have usually been at the same season in other years. For instance, as against 809 persons in the casual wards on Friday, January 16th, 1891, the number on the corresponding Friday of 1890 was 853. At the same time it may be stated that even when the strain is greatest the supply of free shelter at the refuges and casual wards invariably exceeds the demand. It may be mentioned that most of the refuges, especially the larger ones, are open only during the winter months.

In addition to the refuges included in the census, there are some others which give shelter to special classes of

persons, such for instance as the night reception houses in connection with some of the Rescue Homes.

The census returns as regards 880 out of the 938 persons found in these refuges on January 16th show the date of admission, and yield the following analysis :—

—	Men.	Women and Children.	Total per day.
Admitted on January 16th.....	77	42	119
„ „ 15th.....	42	9	51
„ „ 14th.....	54	10	64
„ „ 13th.....	62	14	76
„ „ 12th.....	37	9	46
„ „ 11th.....	23	8	31
„ „ 10th.....	47	11	58
„ „ 9th.....	25	13	38
„ „ 8th.....	19	4	23
„ between Jan. 1st and 7th	110	47	22
„ „ Dec. 25th „ 31st	24	7	5
„ „ „ 18th „ 24th	36	9	7
„ „ „ 1st „ 17th	87	7	7
„ previously to Dec. 1st ...	30	17	—
Totals.....	673	207	—

We wish it were possible to show what became of these people—how long each of them remained in refuge, and what happened next, and next, in their lives, but it is very difficult to obtain information on such points.

*Table showing results of Census taken on the Night of January 16th, 1891, of the Inmates of Charitable Refuges in London.*

I. MEN (16 YEARS OF AGE AND UPWARDS).

	Accommodation for men.	Accommodation suitable for either men or women.	Numbers Jan. 16th, 1891.	Married, Single, or Widowers.			Ages.							Whether Able-bodied.	
				M.	S.	W.	16-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	Over 70	Yes.	No, or doubtful.
—															
Houseless Poor Asylum, Banner Street..	378	—	298	10	284	4	8	51	107	74	45	13	—	298	—
Providence Row Night Refuge .....	140	60	144	13	123	8	2	31	42	48	12	9	—	144	—
Church Extension Association: Tenter Street Refuge .....	160	—	119	3	108	8	7	28	42	31	8	3	—	112	7
House of Shelter .....	—	60	38	1	34	3	1	13	14	9	1	—	—	31	7
Field Lane Refuge .....	40	—	38	No return			—	9	14	11	3	1	—	—	—
Newport Market Refuge .....	30	—	30	2	22	6	1	7	14	4	2	2	—	23	7
Church Army Central Labour Home ...	30	—	22	6	11	5	—	13	4	5	—	—	—	22	—
Ham Yard Hospice .....	20	—	18	—	16	2	—	4	7	3	4	—	—	14	4
House of Charity .....	20	—	5	1	4	—	—	2	3	—	—	—	—	5	—
Totals .....	818	120	712	36	602	36	19	158	247	185	75	28	—	649	25



# II. WOMEN (16 YEARS OF AGE AND UPWARDS).

	Accommodation for women.	Accommoda- tion suitable for either men or women.	Numbers, Jan. 1st, 1891.	Married, Single, or Widows.			Ages.							Whether Able-bodied.	
				M.	S.	W.	16-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	Over 70	Yes.	No, or doubtful.
Houseless Poor Asylum, Banner Street..	144	—	40	7	16	17	—	1	6	6	14	12	1	38	2
Providence Row Night Refuge .....	102	60	99	12	28	59	—	7	18	24	26	22	2	99	—
Tenter Street Refuge .....	None	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
House of Shelter .....	—	60	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Field Lane Refuge .....	20	—	17	No	return	—	—	5	6	2	3	1	—	No	return
Newport Market Refuge .....	25	—	22	3	16	3	1	14	2	2	3	—	—	16	6
Church Army Central Labour Home ...	None	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ham Yard Hospice .....	None	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
House of Charity .....	22	—	14	4	9	1	1	4	6	2	1	—	—	—	—
Totals.....	313	120	193	27	69	80	2	32	38	36	47	35	3	154	8

### III. CHILDREN (UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE).

	Numbers, January 16th, 1891.	Ages.															
		Under 12 months.	1 year old.	2 years old.	3 years old.	4 years old.	5 years old.	6 years old.	7 years old.	8 years old.	9 years old.	10 years old.	11 years old.	12 years old.	13 years old.	14 years old.	15 years old.
—		—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Houseless Poor Asylum .....	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Providence Row .....	22	1	2	1	3	—	1	3	1	4	1	—	—	1	1	—	—
House of Shelter .....	1	—	—	—	—	—	Age not stated.			—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
Newport Market Refuge .....	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
House of Charity .....	7	—	2	—	—	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals.....	33	2	5	1	3	5	2	3	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	—	1

Total Men, Women, and Children, 938.

## CHAPTER VI.

### CENTRAL LONDON, EAST LONDON, AND BATTERSEA COMPARED

---

THE complete statistics from the Central London inquiry \* are given in the tables which follow. They concern the three Registration districts of the Strand, St. Giles's, and Westminster.†

A comparison between these different parts of Central London may be made in the form used previously with regard to the different portions of East London.

The comparisons are made by percentages, but the total numbers are given to which these percentages apply.

These figures show the industrial peculiarities, and, to some extent, the social condition of each district. The most notable point is, as might be supposed, the extraordinary proportion of those employed on dress in St. Anne's, Soho, &c.—24 per cent. as compared to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. elsewhere in Central London. These are the tailors and bootmakers. The same district has also its full

\* This inquiry was conducted by a committee consisting of Mr. E. C. Grey, Mr. R. A. Valpy, Mr. H. G. Willink, Mr. W. C. Lefroy, Miss M. A. Tillard, and the Editor, and an abstract of the results was published by Mr. Valpy in 1889.

† It must be borne in mind that the district of Westminster is not, as might be supposed, that surrounding the Abbey and the Houses of Parliament, but consists of the parishes of St. Anne's, Soho, &c., to the east of Regent Street.

Table of Sections and Classes. STRAND.

Section.	Description.	Very Poor.		Poor.		Comfortable.		Well-to-do.		Total.	Percentage.
		A. Lowest Class.	B. Casual Earnings.	C. Irregular Earnings.	D. Regular Minimum.	E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	F. Highly Paid Work.	G. Lower Middle.	H. Upper Middle.		
Labour .....	1 Lowest class, loafers, &c. ....	256	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	256	0·9
"	2 Casual day-to-day labour .....	—	1,920	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,920	6·7
"	3 Irregular labour .....	—	41	451	—	—	—	—	—	492	1·7
"	4 Regular work—low pay .....	—	41	7	340	8	—	—	—	396	1·4
"	5 "                   ordinary pay .....	—	8	7	63	1,439	25	—	—	1,542	5·4
"	6 Foremen and responsible work ...	—	—	—	—	—	327	—	—	327	1·1
Artisans .....	7 Building trades .....	—	74	126	24	283	184	—	—	691	2·4
"	8 Furniture, woodwork, &c. ....	—	41	49	24	105	42	—	—	261	0·9
"	9 Machinery and metals.....	—	58	7	32	251	193	—	—	541	1·9
"	10 Sundry artisans .....	—	83	118	55	340	218	—	—	814	2·8
"	11 Dress .....	—	83	203	32	275	117	—	—	710	2·5
"	12 Food preparation .....	—	25	—	—	24	92	—	—	141	0·5
Locomotion	13 Railway servants .....	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	8	—
"	14 Road service .....	—	16	7	8	64	126	—	—	221	0·8
Assistants ...	15 Shops and refreshment houses ...	—	41	21	71	275	193	9	—	610	2·1
Other wages	16 Police, soldiers and sub-officials...	—	—	7	—	235	193	—	—	435	1·5
"	17 Seamen .....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
"	18 Other wage earners .....	—	25	35	—	227	100	—	—	387	1·3
Manufac- turers, &c. 19 }	Home industries (not employing)	—	—	7	—	72	142	—	—	221	0·8
"	20 Small employers .....	—	—	—	—	32	193	51	—	276	1·0
"	21 Large " .....	—	—	—	—	—	8	26	—	34	0·1



Dealers .....	22	Street sellers, &c.....	9	198	91	16	16	—	—	—	330	1.1
"	23	General dealers .....	—	8	7	—	40	33	—	—	88	0.3
"	24	Small shops .....	9	—	—	8	202	302	43	—	564	2.0
"	25	Large " (employing assistants)	—	—	—	—	8	218	180	—	406	1.4
Refreshments	26	Coffee and boarding houses .....	—	—	—	—	—	109	85	—	194	0.7
"	27	Licensed Houses .....	—	—	—	—	8	8	103	—	119	0.4
Salaried, &c.	28	Clerks and agents .....	—	8	28	8	88	418	137	—	687	2.4
"	29	Subordinate professional .....	—	—	—	—	8	59	60	—	127	0.4
"	30	Professional .....	—	—	—	—	8	50	50	9	117	0.4
No work .....	31	Ill and no occupation .....	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—
"	32	Independent .....	—	—	—	—	8	8	—	—	16	0.1
Females .....	33	Semi-domestic employment .....	—	514	35	62	121	—	—	—	732	2.6
"	34	Dress .....	—	16	—	8	40	—	—	—	64	0.2
"	35	Small trades .....	—	58	28	—	16	—	—	—	102	0.4
"	36	Employing and professional .....	—	—	—	—	8	42	9	—	59	0.2
"	37	Supported .....	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—
"	38	Independent .....	—	—	—	—	48	—	—	—	48	0.2
"	39	Other adult women .....	18	215	80	49	634	223	381	165	1,765	6.2
Unscheduled	40	Population of unscheduled houses	—	—	—	—	5,371	—	5,065	2,535	12,971	45.2
Per cent.....			292	3,489	1,314	800	10,262	3,623	6,199	2,709	28,688	100.0
Inmates of institutions .....			1.0	12.2	4.6	2.8	35.8	42.6	21.6	9.4	—	100.0
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,312	—

Total Population..... 30,000

Table of Sections and Classes. WESTMINSTER.

Section.	Description.	Very Poor.			Poor.		Comfortable.			Well-to-do.		Total.	Percentage.
		A. Lowest Class.	B. Casual Earnings.		C. Irregular Earnings.	D. Regular Minimum.	E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	F. Highly Paid Work.		G. Lower Middle.	H. Upper Middle.		
Labour .....	1 Lowest class, loafers, &c. ....	—	—		—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—
"	2 Casual day-to-day labour .....	—	1,362		—	—	—	—		—	—	1,362	3.4
"	3 Irregular labour .....	—	81		167	—	—	—		—	—	248	0.6
"	4 Regular work, low pay.....	—	126		19	460	—	—		—	—	605	1.5
"	5 " " ordinary pay .....	—	—		10	105	1,212	—		—	—	1,327	3.3
"	6 Foremen and responsible work ...	—	—		—	—	10	272		—	—	282	0.7
Artisans .....	7 Building trades .....	—	243		235	77	590	178		10	—	1,333	3.3
"	8 Furniture, woodwork, &c. ....	—	117		88	19	464	115		—	—	803	2.0
"	9 Machinery and metals .....	—	90		78	10	276	126		—	—	580	1.4
"	10 Sundry artisans.....	—	117		68	29	790	345		31	—	1,380	3.4
"	11 Dress .....	9	882		2,392	706	5,104	366		—	—	9,459	23.7
"	12 Food preparation .....	—	—		29	—	118	10		—	—	157	0.4
Locomotion..	13 Railway servants .....	—	—		—	10	20	10		—	—	40	0.1
"	14 Road service .....	—	36		49	29	99	178		—	—	391	1.0
Assistants ...	15 Shops and refreshment houses ...	—	63		137	77	737	167		—	—	1,181	3.0
Other wages..	16 Police, soldiers, and sub-officials .	—	—		10	10	865	548		10	—	1,443	3.6
"	17 Seamen .....	—	—		—	—	—	10		—	—	10	—
"	18 Other wage earners .....	—	108		215	—	1,182	188		—	—	1,693	4.2
Manufac- turers, &c. 19 }	Home industries (not employing) .	—	144		98	38	148	230		10	—	668	1.7

"	20 Small employers .....	—	9	—	—	10	429	63	—	511	1·3
"	21 Large employers .....	—	—	—	—	—	—	21	—	21	0·1
Dealers .....	22 Street sellers, &c.....	—	108	29	10	40	10	—	—	197	0·5
"	23 General dealers .....	—	9	10	—	49	10	10	—	88	0·2
"	24 Small shops .....	—	18	39	96	266	505	21	—	945	2·4
"	25 Large shops(employing assistants)	—	—	—	—	30	272	138	—	440	1·1
Refreshments	26 Coffee and boarding houses .....	—	—	—	—	49	136	21	—	206	0·5
"	27 Licensed houses .....	—	—	—	—	—	42	198	—	240	0·6
Salaried, &c.	28 Clerks and agents .....	—	—	20	29	109	439	42	—	639	1·6
"	29 Subordinate professional.....	—	9	20	—	20	126	84	—	259	0·6
"	30 Professional .....	—	—	—	—	10	10	10	—	30	0·1
No work .....	31 Ill and no occupation .....	—	9	—	—	—	—	10	—	19	0·1
"	32 Independent .....	—	—	—	—	10	—	10	—	20	0·1
Females .....	33 Semi-domestic employment .....	—	891	29	96	118	10	—	—	1,144	2·9
"	34 Dress .....	9	477	88	86	39	10	—	—	709	1·8
"	35 Small trades .....	—	144	20	19	30	21	—	—	234	0·6
"	36 Employing and professional .....	—	9	10	29	39	52	—	—	139	0·3
"	37 Supported ....	—	9	—	19	20	—	—	—	48	0·1
"	38 Independent .....	—	—	—	10	30	10	—	—	50	0·1
"	39 Other adult women .....	—	622	474	241	1,979	592	419	45	4,374	10·9
Unscheduled	40 Population of unscheduled houses	—	—	—	—	3,635	—	2,728	362	6,725	16·8
		20	5,683	4,334	2,205	18,098	5,417	3,836	407	40,000	100·0
	Per cent.....	—	14·2	10·8	5·5	45·3	13·6	9·6	1·0	—	100·0
	Inmates of institutions .....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,000	

Total Population..... 42,000

Table of Sections and Classes. ST. GILES'S.

Section.	Description.	Very Poor.		Poor.		Comfortable.		Well-to-do.		Total.	Percentage.
		A. Lowest Class.	B. Casual Earnings.	C. Irregular Earnings.	D. Regular Minimum.	Ordinary Standard Earnings.	F. Highly Paid Work.	G. Lower Middle.	H. Upper Middle.		
Labour .....	1 Lowest class, loafers, &c. ....	1,172	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,172	3·0
"	2 Casual day-to-day labour.....	—	2,000	—	17	9	—	—	—	2,026	5·2
"	3 Irregular labour .....	—	23	641	—	—	—	—	...	664	1·7
"	4 Regular work, low pay .....	—	147	—	1,190	—	—	—	—	1,337	3·4
"	5 " ordinary pay .....	—	—	—	210	4,240	—	—	—	4,450	11·3
"	6 Foremen and responsible work ...	—	—	—	—	9	1,142	—	—	1,151	2·9
Artisans .....	7 Building trades .....	8	124	81	50	550	460	—	—	1,273	3·2
"	8 Furniture, woodwork, &c. ....	—	54	41	50	445	177	—	—	767	2·0
"	9 Machinery and metals .....	—	54	41	50	385	310	—	—	840	2·1
"	10 Sundry artisans.....	16	163	119	25	565	585	—	—	1,473	3·8
"	11 Dress .....	—	78	81	42	450	283	—	—	934	2·4
"	12 Food preparation .....	—	—	—	17	111	62	—	—	190	0·5
Locomotion	13 Railway servants .....	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	9	—
"	14 Road service .....	—	15	20	34	187	979	—	—	1,235	3·2
Assistants ...	15 Shops and refreshment houses ...	—	62	13	59	480	195	—	—	809	2·1
Other wages	16 Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	—	—	—	50	530	230	—	—	810	2·1
"	17 Seamen .....	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	9	—
"	18 Other wage earners .....	—	8	13	25	240	230	—	—	516	1·3
Manufac- turers, &c. 19 }	Home industries (not employing)	—	54	47	17	69	407	9	—	603	1·5
"	20 Small employers .....	—	—	—	8	9	572	105	—	694	1·8
"	21 Large " .....	—	—	—	—	—	—	35	—	35	0·1



Dealers .....	22	Street sellers, &c. ....	8	147	54	67	230	62	—	—	568	1.4
"	23	General dealers .....	8	—	8	17	26	106	9	—	174	0.4
"	24	Small shops .....	—	—	33	42	189	383	17	—	664	1.7
"	25	Large ,, (employing assistants)	—	—	—	—	9	301	182	—	492	1.3
Refreshments	26	Coffee and boarding houses .....	—	—	8	—	9	230	—	—	247	0.6
"	27	Licensed houses .....	—	—	—	—	—	35	156	12	203	0.5
Salaried, &c.	28	Clerks and agents .....	—	8	33	—	120	664	70	—	895	2.3
"	29	Subordinate professional .....	—	—	—	—	9	35	61	—	105	0.3
"	30	Professional .....	—	—	—	—	—	9	17	13	39	0.1
No work .....	31	Ill and no occupation .....	—	31	—	—	—	—	—	—	31	0.1
"	32	Independent .....	—	—	—	—	—	27	17	6	50	0.1
Females .....	33	Semi-domestic employment .....	—	1,102	33	125	130	27	9	—	1,426	3.6
"	34	Dress .....	16	147	20	50	51	9	—	—	293	0.7
"	35	Small trades .....	8	279	26	84	103	27	—	—	527	1.3
"	36	Employing and professional .....	—	8	8	—	17	53	—	—	86	0.2
"	37	Supported .....	16	62	—	34	42	—	—	—	154	0.4
"	38	Independent .....	—	—	—	17	42	9	—	—	68	0.2
"	39	Other adult women .....	101	369	106	183	950	611	413	182	2,915	7.5
Unscheduled	40	Population of unscheduled houses	—	—	—	—	2,593	—	4,463	2,240	9,296	23.7
Per cent.....			1,353	4,935	1,426	2,463	12,817	8,220	5,563	2,453	39,230	100.0
Inmates of institutions .....			3.4	12.6	3.7	6.3	32.7	20.9	14.2	6.2	—	100.0
			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,770	—

Total Population..... 41,000



"	20 Small employers .....	—	9	—	8	51	1,194	219	—	1,481	1.4
"	21 Large "	—	—	—	—	—	8	82	—	90	0.1
Dealers .....	22 Street sellers, &c. ....	17	453	174	93	286	72	—	—	1,095	1.0
"	23 General dealers.....	8	17	25	17	115	149	19	—	350	0.3
"	24 Small shops .....	9	18	72	146	657	1,190	81	—	2,173	2.0
"	25 Large " (employing assistants)	—	—	—	—	47	791	500	—	1,338	1.2
Refreshments	26 Coffee and boarding houses .....	—	—	8	—	58	475	106	—	647	0.6
"	27 Licensed houses .....	—	—	—	—	8	85	457	12	562	0.5
Salaried, &c.	28 Clerks and agents.....	—	16	81	37	317	1,521	249	—	2,221	2.0
"	29 Subordinate professional.....	—	9	20	—	37	220	205	—	491	0.4
"	30 Professional .....	—	—	—	—	18	69	77	22	186	0.2
No work .....	31 Ill or no occupation .....	—	48	—	—	—	—	10	—	58	0.1
"	32 Independent .....	—	—	—	—	18	35	27	6	86	0.1
Females .....	33 Semi-domestic employment .....	—	2,507	97	283	369	37	9	—	3,302	3.1
"	34 Dress .....	25	640	108	144	130	19	—	—	1,066	1.0
"	35 Small trades .....	8	481	74	103	149	48	—	—	863	0.8
"	36 Employing and professional .....	—	17	18	29	64	147	9	—	284	0.3
"	37 Supported .....	16	79	—	53	62	—	—	—	210	0.2
"	38 Independent .....	—	—	—	27	120	19	—	—	166	0.1
"	39 Other adult women .....	121	1,206	660	473	3,563	1,426	1,213	392	9,054	8.4
Unscheduled	40 Population of unscheduled houses	—	—	—	—	11,599	—	12,256	5,137	28,992	26.9
		1,665	14,107	7,074	5,468	41,177	17,260	15,598	5,569	107,918	100.0
	Per cent.....	1.5	13.1	6.5	5.2	38.1	16.0	14.4	5.2	—	—
	Inmates of institutions .....	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,082	100.0

TOTAL POPULATION..... 113,000

proportion of other artisans (10 per cent.), and more than its proportion of shop assistants and other wage earners, and an average number of small shopkeepers and those on a similar footing, and of clerks and large employers. The other side of the account lies altogether in the labour section, which here accounts for less than 10 per cent. in place of 16 per cent. and 25 per cent. in the Strand and St. Giles's. Speaking generally, it may be said that the tailors and bootmakers of Soho are in St. Giles's replaced by labourers of various grades, and that what deficiency there is in shop assistants and other wage-earners, not labourers, is made up by the lowest class, the occupants chiefly of common lodging-houses, which in St. Giles's accounts for 3 per cent. of the population. The district of the Strand leads the way in casual (market) labour, but is otherwise at every point below the level of the rest, except as to coffee-house keepers, of whom it has a slight excess. All deficiencies are made up by the great proportion of the inhabitants living in houses above the limit scheduled by the School Board, and occupied by upper-class people and their servants. These houses include the great hotels and clubs. These deductions perhaps contain nothing new, but the figures on the opposite page show the facts very clearly.

We may in the same way compare the whole or any portion of Central London with the whole or any portion of East London, and to these comparisons may be added that with Battersea, for which district also we have full particulars given in the table at the end of Chapter II in Part III from the information collected by Mr. Balfour.

It will be seen from the table on p. 383 that "Labour" reaches its maximum proportion in Poplar, where it accounts for no less than 32 per cent., while the White-chapel district follows closely after with 30 per cent., and Hackney stands lowest with only 11 per cent. On the other hand, for artisans Shoreditch is *facile princeps*



1. Lowest class .....	0.9	—	3.0	1.3
2. Casual labour .....	6.7	3.4	5.2	4.9
3. Irregular labour .....	1.7	0.6	1.7	1.3
4. Regular work, low pay .....	1.4	1.5	3.4	2.2
5. " " ordinary pay .....	5.4	3.3	11.3	6.8
6. Foremen, &c. ....	1.1	0.7	2.9	1.6
7. Building trades .....	2.4	3.3	3.2	3.1
8. Furniture, woodwork, &c. ....	0.9	2.0	2.0	1.7
9. Machinery and metals .....	1.9	1.4	2.1	1.8
10. Sundry .....	2.8	3.4	3.8	3.4
11. Dress .....	2.5	23.7	2.4	10.3
12. Food preparation .....	3.0	24.1	0.5	10.7
13. Railway .....	0.5	0.4	—	0.4
14. Roads .....	—	0.1	—	0.1
15. Shop assistants .....	0.8	1.0	3.2	1.7
16. Sub-officials .....	2.1	—	2.1	2.4
17. Seamen .....	1.5	11.9	2.1	2.5
18. Other wage earners .....	—	3.0	—	—
19. Home industries .....	1.3	3.6	1.3	2.4
20. Small employers .....	0.8	4.2	1.5	1.4
21. Street sellers .....	1.0	1.3	1.8	1.4
22. General dealers .....	1.1	0.5	1.4	1.0
23. Small shops .....	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3
24. Coffee houses .....	2.0	2.4	1.7	2.0
25. Large employers .....	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.6
26. Large shops .....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
27. Licensed houses .....	1.4	1.1	1.3	1.2
28. Clerks, &c. ....	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.5
29. Sub-professional .....	2.4	1.6	2.3	2.0
30. Professional .....	0.4	0.6	0.3	0.4
31. Ill or no occupation .....	—	0.1	0.1	0.2
32. Independent .....	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
33. Semi-domestic .....	2.6	2.9	3.6	3.1
34. Dress .....	0.2	1.8	0.7	1.0
35. Trades .....	0.4	0.6	1.3	0.8
36. Employing and professional .....	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3
37. Supported .....	—	0.1	0.4	0.2
38. Independent .....	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1
39. Other adult women .....	6.2	10.9	7.5	8.4
40. Unscheduled houses .....	45.2	16.8	23.7	26.9

Total population.....

28,688=100.0

40,000=100.0

39,230=100.0

107,918=100.0

with no less than 35 per cent., not counting dress and food preparation, in which Whitechapel stands first. Bethnal Green follows Shoreditch with 30 per cent. of regular artisans, and Poplar stands third with 26 per cent. Taking dress and food preparation together with the other forms of skilled work, Shoreditch still leads, having 45 per cent. of her population dependent on this work, as against 42 per cent. for Bethnal Green, and 30 per cent. for Poplar. The truly industrial character of East London cannot be better shown than by these figures. Of small profit earners, that is, small employers, small shopkeepers, street sellers, and general dealers, and also of large employers, dealers, and retailers, Bethnal Green and Whitechapel have most. Of unscheduled houses we count none in the districts described, except in Central London and Hackney, saving that Battersea has a small proportion. Battersea is chiefly remarkable for combining a full proportion of artisans with an equally full proportion of ordinary labour, and the largest percentage of "sundry" wage-earners. Of clerks, also, Battersea shows more than any district except Hackney.

In the employments of women, so far as they can be tested by particulars which relate only to heads of families, it will be noticed that Central London and Battersea have far the most of the semi-domestic. These are principally washerwomen. Central London washes its dirty linen at home. Battersea undertakes this duty for a large part of the West End.

The tables which follow illustrate the building up of the poorer classes from the various employments, and are of considerable interest, although not so complete or detailed as I could wish.

[illegible]



# Formation of Class B Compared.

	Cent. London.		Shoreditch.		Bethnal Green.		Whitechapel, St. George's E., Stepney.		Mile End.		Poplar.		Hackney.		Battersea.	
	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.
Labour.	5282	37.5	3182	27.9	5680	27.9	13,711	58.2	3113	41.4	12,475	58.1	3146	20.0	2128	27.5
Casual, 2.....																
Irregular, 3.....	145	1.0	504	4.4	638	3.1	752	3.2	575	7.6	1130	5.3	942	6.0	—	—
Regular, 4 and 5 .....	322	2.3	70	0.6	231	1.1	326	1.4	99	1.3	322	1.5	448	2.9	—	—
Artisans. Building, &c., 7 and 8 .....	653	4.6	1696	14.9	3542	17.3	646	2.7	638	8.5	1827	8.5	2487	15.9	448	5.8
Machinery, &c., 9 and 10.....	565	4.0	778	6.8	1438	7.0	468	2.0	254	3.4	693	3.2	873	5.5	158	2.0
Dress and food, 11 and 12 ...	1068	7.6	946	8.3	2190	10.7	1938	8.2	157	2.1	449	2.1	1414	9.0	70	0.9
Other wage earners, 13-18, 28 and 29 ...	399	2.8	386	3.4	395	1.9	479	2.0	308	4.1	632	3.0	1040	6.6	183	2.4
Home Industries, 19-20 .....	207	1.5	258	2.3	687	3.4	134	0.6	117	1.6	153	0.7	524	3.3	185	2.4
Street sellers, &c., 22-24 and 27 .....	488	3.5	330	2.9	1748	8.6	747	3.2	298	3.9	260	1.2	649	4.2	228	3.0
Ill and no occupation, 31 .....	48	0.3	211	1.8	284	1.4	493	2.1	208	2.8	520	2.4	328	2.1	106	1.4
Widows and their families, 33-8 .....	3724	26.4	2112	18.5	2172	10.7	2070	8.8	1079	14.3	1738	8.1	2125	13.5	3531	45.6
Unmarried women, 39 .....	1206	8.5	940	8.2	1400	6.9	1789	7.6	675	9.0	1261	5.9	1734	11.0	700	9.0
	14,107	100.0	11,413	100.0	20,405	100.0	23,553	100.0	7521	100.0	21,460	100.0	15,710	100.0	7737	100.0



# Formation of Classes C and D Compared.

	Cent. London.		Shoreditch.		Bethnal Green.		Whitechapel, St. George's E., Stepney.		Mile End.		Poplar.		Hackney.		Battersea.	
	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.	Nos.	per cent.
Labour.	17	0.1	132	0.4	180	0.5	369	0.8	100	0.5	400	1.1	17	0.1	—	—
Casual, 2 .....																
Irregular, 3.....	1259	10.0	2061	5.7	2050	5.9	5182	10.8	1623	7.9	2823	7.5	1536	5.9	10,415	24.4
Regular, 4 and 5 .....	2411	19.2	5844	16.2	5566	15.9	11,348	23.6	5595	27.3	15,741	42.0	5322	20.6	10,891	25.6
Artisans.	864	6.9	8003	22.2	7954	22.7	2626	5.4	2320	11.3	5472	14.6	4323	16.7	5541	13.0
Building and furniture, 7 and 8																
Machinery, Printing and Sundry, 9 and 10 .....	632	5.0	4679	12.9	3466	9.9	2639	5.5	1263	6.2	3125	8.4	2028	7.8	1159	2.7
Dress and food, 11 and 12 ...	3502	27.9	4511	12.5	5491	15.7	10,305	21.4	2091	10.2	1620	4.3	2913	11.2	703	1.6
Other wage earners, 13-18, 28 and 29.....	1038	8.3	3024	8.4	1991	5.7	2934	6.1	1823	8.8	2238	5.9	2944	11.4	4725	11.1
Home Industries, 19-20 .....	215	1.7	1128	3.1	1317	3.7	1226	2.5	444	2.2	480	1.3	894	3.5	721	1.7
Street sellers, &c., 22-4, 26 and 27 .....	535	4.3	1421	3.9	2499	7.2	4235	8.8	1330	6.5	1171	3.1	1245	4.8	1562	3.7
Ill and no occupation, 31 .....	—	—	71	0.2	43	0.1	207	0.4	71	0.3	183	0.5	86	0.3	316	0.7
Widows and their families, 33-38 .....	936	7.5	2240	6.2	2043	5.8	3271	6.8	1993	9.7	2038	5.4	1740	6.7	2732	6.4
Unmarried women, 39.....	1133	9.1	2972	8.3	2421	6.9	3763	7.9	1859	9.1	2219	5.9	2852	11.0	3874	9.1
	12,542	100.0	36,086	100.0	35,021	100.0	48,105	100.0	20,512	100.0	37,510	100.0	25,900	100.0	42,639	100.0

NOTE.—Section 31 (Ill and no occupation) in *Battersea*, includes 79 people of section 32 (Independent), who are given in class D in Mr. Balfour's return.

With regard to the formation of Class B, it is of interest to see upon what trades chiefly the very poor depend in the various districts.

In Battersea widows and their families account for no less than 45 per cent. of the whole of the class. Their employments are nearly all semi-domestic—washing, charring, or needle-work. In Central London they account for 26 per cent., and tailoring must be added to the list of employments. In Shoreditch 18 per cent. of the very poor are connected with female heads of families, but elsewhere the proportion is much smaller. With male heads of families, casual labour naturally accounts for the largest proportion, and here our information fails to tell us in what manner the labour is employed. We may partly guess by the locality: in Whitechapel, St. George's, and Stepney, casual labour accounts for 58 per cent. of the very poor. This is principally dock and waterside labour. For Poplar the same figure holds good, and the same source of employment. Among the very poor of Mile End there are 41 per cent. of casual labourers—again waterside people chiefly—but also connected with gasworks to some extent. Central London follows with 37 per cent. of casuals amongst its poor, many of them working at the market. The building and allied trades (including furniture and woodwork) stand for 15 per cent. in Shoreditch, 17 per cent. in Bethnal Green, and 16 per cent. in Hackney, being much more than elsewhere. Dress and food preparation stands at 10 or 11 per cent. in Bethnal Green, and street-sellers to 8 or 9 per cent. in the same quarter, balancing thus the large proportion connected with casual labour elsewhere.

As to the formation of classes C and D, our poor who are not very poor, we see from the second table that in Poplar regular but poorly paid labour amounts to 42 per cent., in Mile End to 27 per cent., and in Battersea to nearly 26 per cent. Labour irregularly employed stands here for

24 per cent., making 50 per cent. in all, a proportion just equal to that for Poplar taking regular and irregular labour together. In Shoreditch and Bethnal Green the poorer people are largely employed in furniture and other artisan work; while in Central London, and again in the Whitechapel district, dress and food preparation take the lead among the employments of the poor. Those who can assimilate such indigestible morsels will find the characteristics of each district very well portrayed in these and the preceding tables.





PART III.—SOUTH AND OUTLYING  
LONDON, ETC.



## SOUTH AND OUTLYING LONDON, ETC.

---

### CHAPTER I.

#### SOUTH LONDON.

---

SOUTH of the Thames lies a huge Metropolitan suburb of which I have found it difficult to form any but a most vague conception, so immense is it in size, so invertebrate in character. Although more detached from the common centre than the Eastern or Northern districts with which it may in some ways be compared, the Southern section appears to lack independent life. The broad stream of the river forms a physical, but not a moral separation, leaving the district not exactly London, but still only to be described in terms of London. To be thought of as the approach to London, or, from another point of view, as the escape from London—a district whose peculiarities it would puzzle the observer to explain, but for the key provided by the great bridges. Connected with these bridges is a network of handsome streets, which strikes the observer with equal force whether he traverses the district itself, or studies its features, as I now invite the reader to do, by the aid of a map. On my map the main roads, coloured bright red, to indicate their well-to-do middle-class inhabitants, stand out very prominently, and suggest to the imagination something of the power and energy of life which fill the sidewalks with passengers, and the roadways with omnibuses and tramway cars, coming from, or going to the outermost bounds of London. This network of roads forms several

natural centres, but the centre of centres is at the Elephant and Castle, where a singularly unpretentious public-house has come to be the "hub" of South London. Here we find a real stir of local life, as well as of distant traffic. Here stands one of the few groups of large shops in South London, the only one of any importance that does not lie on or beyond the confines of my map. To this point from considerable distances come those whose ideas in respect of house furnishing or underclothing, dresses or mantles, bonnets or boots, are not realized in the stocks of their local tradesmen. Some similar points of attraction are to be found in the southern outskirts—on the east at Deptford Broadway, on the south at Peckham Rye and Clapham Pavement and Brixton, and on the west near Clapham Junction—but taken all together they would make little more than one street of shops such as may be freely found in the outlying districts of London north of the Thames. To look into shop-windows is no small pleasure, especially to women, and it costs nothing. The comparative absence of such attractions makes South London dull.

Again, a large part of this great district is short of industries. I have the information at present only in a very general way, but it seems clear that on the whole South London cannot, in respect of industries, compare to East or Central London, or to Finsbury. The industries which exist cling for the most part to the river. Some works or factories are to be found on the borders of the Grand Surrey Canal, but otherwise there is little employment to be had inland. The bulk of the workers travel at any rate to, and often across the river to their daily task.\* It is so with casual no less than with regular work, but with one distinction. The casual worker who looks to London proper for employment, or seeks it at the riverside, cannot

\* Morning and evening see the bridges crowded with those who pass their working day in London, so much so that it is difficult to cross at all against the stream which sets northwards in the morning and southwards at night.



well live beyond a walking distance from the wharf or factory he frequents, or from the bridge he will have to cross. It is only the man whose position is assured who can treat railway or tram fare as a regular item of his daily budget, to be saved out of rent, or set against the advantages of happier surroundings for children, fresher air and better health.

The result is obvious, and may readily be traced on our map. With some exceptions, which bear explanation, South London poverty everywhere lightens as we recede from the river. There is a deplorably low level in all parts which lie near the sources of work ; and this low level tends to perpetuate itself, for no sooner does anyone rise and "get a bit decent," than he may be expected to move out to Clapham or elsewhere. Everyone I have consulted has mentioned this centrifugal tendency of the better off, and almost all have complained that, in consequence of it, their district is going down. There is, besides, another drift, which sets more slowly but in the same direction, of poor, improvident, helpless people, to quarters where they may for a while obtain fresh credit. Those who have supplied food or found house-room have no more patience, and charitable agencies refuse to continue to assist ; so, like locusts, they pass on to new pastures. This hopeless stream is swollen by demolitions. The families whose wretched homes are destroyed are rarely those which fill the new and better buildings that take the place of the old courts ; and once uprooted, it is said that these poor folk never cease to wander. Here, in South London, there is said to be a love of home not often found ; an almost romantic attachment of the respectable poor to their little courts, not easily to be reproduced. The old evils they were accustomed to, the old ties of habit were strong, but they find nothing to bind them to the new quarters, where their earnings are perhaps even less regular and less secure than they may have been before. The new-comers into poor districts may have come from

across the Thames. Clearances in Chelsea have caused a stream to flow into Battersea, and we have found in Penge a group of families who had come all the way from Moorgate Street. These, however, had made one flight of it, and coming in company, bringing their household gods with them, bade fair to make of the street they had selected, a den as foully comfortable to them as were the old courts from which they had been driven in the city. From one cause or other the movement never ceases, and it greatly adds to the difficulties in the way of improvement. The best men leave and the worst do not stay long enough in one place to give local influence the chance to reach or raise them.

The daily wants of the district are to a great extent supplied by an army of costermongers, who perambulate the streets or take their stands in the market streets or at favourite corners. These men, with their irregular earnings and heavy drinking, are a class not easy to place. They are poor, many of them frequently in the last stage of poverty, but even the poorest at times make money freely. What they make is as freely spent. Some streets and courts are almost exclusively occupied by these men, and on days or at hours when there is little doing, the empty barrows line and almost block the narrow roadways. Here the curious may see the method the men adopt to brighten up the remains of yesterday's stock before starting out on a new round; a sight to be borne with perfect equanimity only by one whose wants are supplied through some other channel of trade. Where, as is most commonly the case, the costermongers live side by side with casual labourers, we find the poorest and lowest streets. The "easy come, easy go" standard of expenditure adopted by the street vendor, mainly, of course, in drink, has a demoralizing effect on his neighbours as well as himself.

All the points mentioned in the general view of the district which has now been given will be confirmed as we take each part of it individually.

We have in a previous chapter compared the different parts of South London with each other and with other districts in London in respect of poverty, and have placed St. Saviour's, Southwark, on her wretched throne. A circle with a radius of half a mile from St. George's Church includes the whole of this district—historic, poverty-stricken Southwark. I will not trouble the reader with the exact boundaries, which are rather complicated as shown by dotted lines on the map. For my purpose Blackfriars Bridge on the west; Star Corner (at end of Long Lane) on the east, and the New Kent Road on the south, will serve well enough. But the old parish boundaries must not be altogether ignored, as they have had an evident influence. A glance at the map will show how often it is on their line that streets are cut short, so as not to "go through"; and where this is the case there is a tendency to bad conditions of life, moral as well as physical. The wretched strip to the north and east of Tabard Street is a flagrant example of this tendency. This is an evil, which, dating from very old times, is unfortunately reproduced to-day in connection with the impassable boundaries of railway lines, as will be plainly seen on the south-west map by tracing the course of the railway from Nine Elms to Clapham Junction.

Immediately round about St. George's Church and on all sides of it lie nests of courts and alleys, yielding in places to improvements, as where the Marshalsea Road has been cut through the ancient district of the "Mint," but still harbouring an appalling amount of destitution not unmingled with crime, and in this respect maintaining only too well the historic character of the Borough. These places are indicated very imperfectly on the map, as their narrowness and intricacy defies reproduction on any but the largest scale. Among these courts, close behind the church, was the Marshalsea prison, of which some part remains standing. To westwards as far as Blackfriars Road there lives a popula-



tion which is the despair of those who work amongst it. Not as being bad, but very low and difficult to raise. Part at least of this district is cursed by ancient benefactions; money left to provide food for the hungry, and tending with fatal certainty to perpetuate the misery it relieves. To the east of the church we find a district no less evidently poor. This is that already referred to which lies between Great Dover Street and Long Lane, having for its main street the part of the Old Kent Road which masquerades to-day as Tabard Street. Missions abound here. The most notable of them has in Tabard Street an underground church, original and marvellous in construction, burrowed out of the cellars of two adjacent houses. Near it is a labyrinth of streets and courts, more wholesome than many such, the inhabitants of which seem not so very poor nor at all bad, struggling happy-go-lucky people, whose standard is neither too high nor too low to admit of their being fairly comfortable in their surroundings; habit and environment having reached a kind of stable equilibrium which, however unsatisfactory in the eyes of the world, it is not easy to upset. These streets are typical of much in South London. Here live a number of costermongers, some of whom are of the highest respectability in their way. One family in particular, connected together in cousinship and by marriage, can trace back several generations all of which have lived in this neighbourhood. Further east again, beyond St. Stephen's Square as far as Bermondsey New Road and the courts which lie round about the site of the old Abbey, almost every street is quite poor, and many are wretchedly so. The Board School in Westcott Street contains some of the poorest children in London, and the market in Bermondsey New Road is of all the street markets in London that which to the onlooker strikes most deeply the note of poverty.

This district, somewhat curtailed to the south, where



were still St. George's fields, was practically the whole of South London 150 years ago, and thus it is to this district that the older historic reminiscences belong. Blackfriars Bridge was building. Blackfriars Bridge Road was barely laid out. The true western boundary in those days was Broadwall, leading to Old Barge-house stairs, which were conveniently situated opposite the Temple. Broadwall led to the fields and under the name of Melancholy Walk was continued along their verge, where is to be seen on our map the dark blue patch of Surrey Row, just beyond Nelson Square. Melancholy Walk, still skirting the fields, which I take it were very damp and marshy, led on to Dirty Lane, and Dirty Lane to Blackman Street (now the Borough High Street) somewhat to the south of St. George's Church, opposite to where is now the end of Trinity Street.

From the church, along Kent Street, lay the high road to Canterbury, skirted still by woods, where, however, the broom makers who lived in Kent Street were no longer allowed to cut brushwood. Long Lane led to Bermondsey, with the remains of its Abbey. Then, as now, the whole district was spoken of as full of people, no less crowded, the records say, than any equal area to the north of the Thames, no less poor and more rough, for it was a constant subject of complaint that bad characters escaping across the river found refuge here.

The records are not all squalid. Traditions of past splendour lie thick over Bermondsey. One old writer\* tells of the glories of the Abbey, dilates upon its architecture, its extent and the stories of distressed queens and nobles who found shelter within its walls; and even while abusing its despoiler, Sir Thomas Pope, celebrates the magnificence of the house by which he replaced the older buildings. This house, completed by the Ratcliffes (Earls

\* Buckler's MS. "History of Bermondsey."

of Sussex), was the princely dwelling of their family; each Earl in succession striving to outdo his predecessor in the embellishment and improvement of the mansion and grounds.

In Southwark old-time memories abound. The stately charities of Thomas Guy still flourish. Winchester House is gone; its records perhaps belong rather to the larger currents of our history than especially to Southwark; but the great debtors' prisons, the pillories, the ducking stool for scolds, annals of bull fights and bear fights, even combats of lions, and other subjects full of interest to the curious, are treated of at large in local chronicles and later pamphlets.

For our purpose it may perhaps be deemed irrelevant to touch even for a moment on matters so far removed from "the sphere of our sorrows." Yet a glance backwards is not altogether without a bearing even on the objects of our present work. It is inspiring to remember that though a colossal work of improvement still lies before us, our ancestors have cleared the ground. Thanks to the exertions of the wise and good among the dead, we no longer have debtors' prisons farmed out to grasping speculators intent upon squeezing the largest possible subsidies from their charges; levying their extortions, backed by the sanction of torture and ill-usage, their rapacity supported by the knowledge that no coroner's inquest would be called to make inconvenient inquiries into the effects of the deadly disorder significantly termed "the sickness of the place."

Some disciplinarians may regret the ducking stool, but we may all be thankful that we no longer cross bridges garnished with the heads and limbs of human beings, and no longer, as in the days of good Queen Bess, see advertisements of entertainments giving out that so many bulls or bears are to be baited—one to be baited to death as is promised by way of extra attraction; no longer, as in the time of the merry monarch, assist at fencing matches in

which one combatant gives the other "a stroke which took off a slice of his head and almost all his ear, and in turn receiving a stroke upon his already wounded wrist, which divided the sinews, he remained vanquished and the conqueror received the applause of the spectators."\*

The High Street was filled with inns. Here travellers arriving from the south alighted, and found their quarters where the coaches stopped, just as they do now in the hotels that cluster round the railway terminus at Charing Cross. The names of seventeen of these inns are given in an account of the district in 1542.† Of many of these some traces remain. The White Hart, with galleried courtyard, which Dickens made the scene of Mr. Pickwick's first meeting with Sam Weller, has lately been swept away, but others of the same type are still standing. It is said that stage-plays were often performed at these hotels to divert the guests, and that the courtyard and galleries served as an excellent theatre. Of all these hotels the most famous was the Tabard, whence started the pilgrimages to Canterbury.

Among the old records to which I have had access ‡ is one in which a forerunner in the work has stated, street by street, the condition of things as they were in his day. This record, to be found in Strype's first edition of Stow, published towards the end of the seventeenth century, enables me to make the following comparison.

*Red Cross Street* was "an handsome, clean, and open street, pretty well built and inhabited." To-day on the

\* Account written by Thomas Iorevin, a foreigner and eye-witness, in 1672.

† "In 1619 the inhabitants declared that Southwark consists chiefly of inns, and petitioned against new ones, two being then proposed on Bank-side. In 1631 again the question of too many alehouses came up; 228 were counted in the district, and of these 43 were suppressed—21 in Kent Street, partly because of the plague, and partly from their excessive number and evil repute."—*Old Southwark and its People*: Rendle.

‡ Through the kindness of the Rev. J. G. Curry.



one side are tall warehouses, while on the other stand a few poor shops and a large block of dwellings (managed by Miss Octavia Hill), coloured light blue upon our map.

*Maypole Alley* (out of Borough High Street) "hath a narrow passage, but within, a pretty, clean, open court, indifferently built." It still "hath the narrow passage," but neither to the court nor to the casual labourers, dust-yard workers or fur pullers who inhabit it could the term clean apply. "Indifferently" built it is, but the word has changed its meaning for the worse in these latter days.

*Clink Street* was a straggling place. Here was "the prison so called, belonging to the liberty of the Bishop of Winchester, called the Clink liberty, where he had his house to reside in when he came to London, but at present disused and very ruinous." Now Clink Street is a narrow lane with lofty warehouses on both sides, connected by numerous covered bridges, which make the street dark even on the brightest day. Only one family finds a home amidst the storehouses.

In *Montague Close* (by London Bridge) the houses were ancient, but "indifferent good" and well inhabited. Now wharves and huge warehouses have superseded the houses, and rats are the only inhabitants.

*Mint Street*. "The chief street of the Mint" is described as "long and narrow;" now it has been widened and changed its name, and as "Marshalsea Road" is regaining a better reputation than that which became associated with the old title.

*Blackman Street* "is broad, and the buildings and inhabitants not much to be boasted of; the end next Newington hath the west side open to St. George's fields, being rather a road than a street." This now ranks as part of the High Street.

*Kent Street*. "Very long, but ill built; chiefly inhabited by broom men and 'mumpers.'" Now known as Tabard Street. The broom men still carry on their business here,



but mostly live elsewhere. The “mumpers” are still to be found on the spot.

South of the district I have described, as far as East Street, which is the boundary of the Registration district, we still find much poverty. The end of East Street, next the Walworth Road, is an active market, especially on Sunday morning. A large proportion of the movable stalls are devoted to the sale of toys and household or personal ornaments—here one finds a great choice of pretty brooches at one penny. The people who come to buy or linger about look poor, but not so extremely poor as those to be met with in Bermondsey New Road. In East Street side by side lie the Pembroke and Wellington Missions, each in their own way seeking to establish wholesome relations with the somewhat Godless people among whom they are established, while the rest of the ground is occupied by the organization of St. Mark’s Church. This is not exceptional, for almost everywhere in South London the Church is active, and mission-rooms, of all denominations, abound. The work is rather disheartening. The people, where the standard of life is low, seem to be quite happy in poverty, hunger, and dirt, enlivened with drink, and not to be roused to better things, or else the right way to rouse them has not yet been found. In the central parts a hand-to-mouth existence is the rule even among those who might be well off if they chose.

Walworth is full of cab-yards, of which many are found scattered all through South London, though of cabs, except at the railway stations, there are few. It is north of the Thames that they seek and find employment.

From and through the Walworth district population steadily moves outwards towards Peckham, and beyond. The whole district bounded by the Peckham and Walworth Roads on south and west, and by the Old Kent Road to the north-east, bearing on the map a ridiculous likeness to the shape of a stockinged foot (of which East Street spans

the ankle), is full of a new population. There is no doubt some jerry building, and there are dismal spots where poverty gathers head; but, looked at generally, the houses appear to be the quiet and decent dwellings of quiet and decent people. Such of the clergy as I have seen here take a much brighter view of the results of their work than do any of those who work within the inner ring, and so confirm my impression. Similar conditions seem to prevail to the south as to the north of the Peckham Road as far as and beyond the limits of my map, the proportions of the poor decreasing as we pass southward.

Returning to Star Corner and passing along Abbey Street, we have between Long Lane and the railway the home of the leather trade, tan yards set about with queer old courts crowded with a poor population, who either work at this trade or at the wharves, which, with a fringe of poor streets, fill in the space betwixt rail and river—wharves and warehouses whose storeyed floors are stacked and heaped with sea-borne merchandise. Further on, along the river bank as we approach Rotherhithe there is, between Jamaica Road and the river, a district of great poverty. The inhabitants are mostly water-side labourers, many of them Irish and very ignorant. It is said that north of Jamaica Road they are not “reading men;” that in the public-houses a paper is rarely seen, whereas to the south side it is quite otherwise. Rotherhithe itself is filled with those who work at the Surrey Commercial Docks, and when in work make large wages, which are very freely spent as earned, so that poverty is ever able to tighten its grip when work falls slack again.

From Rotherhithe the Lower Road leads to Deptford, and Deptford joining hands with New Cross makes an important centre of life, accompanied, unfortunately, by a group of streets standing low in the scale both for poverty and character.

Back towards London from Deptford lies a large tract,

still open, seamed with railway lines, and occupied as market gardens. Upon this space new communities are springing up, remote and difficult of access, embarrassed by the presence of railway lines planned only to serve a larger world.

From Blackfriars Road through New Cut and Lower Marsh we reach Lambeth, whose palace was built on solid ground when all around was marsh intersected by dykes. Where New Cut crosses Waterloo Bridge Road in the middle of these old marshes, stands the "Vic," a music-hall which is gradually assuming the rôle of a polytechnic. This point is the centre of greatest life in this neighbourhood, and one of the busiest spots in all London. Beyond the palace are the famous potteries where genius has made from drain pipes a ware of wonderful beauty, and found employment for a large number of people.

To the westward of the line of Blackfriars Road, continued past the Elephant and Castle along the Walworth Road to Camberwell Green, lies an inhabited district nearly as large as that to the east of this line, but except at Lambeth there is no trace of antiquity about it. In good or evil it is what modern conditions of life have brought about. It has its dark blue and blue-black places, accursed patches of poverty and vice. The poor condition of East Lambeth repeats itself to some extent at the western extremity near Clapham Junction, just as the poverty of Southwark repeats itself to some extent at Deptford. Of the bad patches the most hopeless is the block consisting of Hollington Street, Sultan Street, and a few more, lying to the west of Camberwell Road. It stands alone in an otherwise well-to-do district, acting as a moral cesspool towards which poverty and vice flow in the persons of those who can do no better, mixed with those who find such surroundings convenient or congenial. It is the despair of the clergy, who find it impossible to put any



permanent social order into a body of people continually shifting and as continually recruited by the incoming of fresh elements of evil or distress. The efforts of those who seek to raise the conditions of life in this and other similar spots in different parts of London may perhaps do more than is recognized for the remnant who stay as well as for the larger number who by-and-by move on elsewhere; and I am told that bad as they seem to us to-day these streets were very much worse in every way a generation back. How it began I do not know, and it does not very much matter. Bad building, bad owning, mismanagement on the part of the vestry, and apathy on the part of the Church, have each had their share in bringing about the condition of things which now demands and tasks the best united efforts of all to put right. This block, as is so often the case when bad conditions triumph, is without thoroughfare, cut off by the railway line from the main road, and it would seem that no radical change can be made in its fortunes except by altering this.

Battersea is treated separately in a special chapter. It is in some ways a special district, combining industries of its own, "down by the river-side," with the most perfect specimen of a working-class residential district in the "Shaftesbury Estate," where we seem to see realized the ideal of South London. This paradise of the artisan could with ease be turned into a citadel. It can be entered only at each corner of the plot of ground on which it stands. Within there is no public-house, nor indeed is there a church. Prominent in the centre, surrounded by a large playground, stands the school, perhaps the handsomest in London, and round about are the houses of the people. Each dwelling has an air of independence and easy comfort. The houses are most of them built on a uniform pattern, but relieved from monotony by a touch of architectural beauty in the half porches and pointed window-tops aided by the minute gardens in front of each house,



which show sedulous and successful care, and are supported by a further array of plants and flowers in many of the well-kept parlour windows. On this estate nearly every house is occupied.

Such, then, as has been described, is South London. In almost every part of this vast district the Church seems to be active. Missions and places of worship of other religious bodies abound, Mr. Spurgeon's great tabernacle and the remarkable organization connected with it being the most notable example. Newly-built baths and libraries bear witness to the energy of local government, and South London seems ready to take full advantage of the proportional endowment offered by the Charity Commissioners for Polytechnic purposes. Finally, nowhere in London has there been more wholesale displacement of old insanitary property by improved dwellings. Yet there is something wanting. There seems to be a lack of spontaneous social life among the people, perhaps due to the want of local industries. There is altogether less going on. In other parts of London, east or north, clubs, good, bad, and indifferent, but very spontaneous in character, abound. In South London there are but few, and these comparatively sluggish. The very public-houses do not seem to exhale so genial a spirit as elsewhere. There are fewer signs in their windows of Harmonic meetings and Friendly leads, of Goose clubs or even of sick and burial societies. Their doors do not so frequently emit that cheerful buzz of talk within, which surely is, of all sounds known to man, the most attractive. At every turn there is a lack of life. This at least is the impression given.\* I can speak only as an onlooker, having never taken up my abode in this district, to which therefore I may perhaps do imperfect

\* In opposition to this I am told that nowhere else in London are there so many respectable dancing saloons as in Southwark and Bermondsey, and that balls and concerts are got up spontaneously by the working classes in these districts.

justice. Its vast extent not only makes the study very difficult, but in eluding mental grasp has perhaps itself a depressing influence. This huge population, in no part wealthy, and rarely rising above the standard of working-class comfort, is found to be poorer ring by ring as the centre is approached, and in each ring poverty is said to be increasing in extent if not in degree. While at its very heart all round about the bridges and extending in a woeful fringe along the river-bank, whence its life-blood is largely drawn, there exists a very impenetrable mass of poverty.

Beyond the limits of South London from Richmond on the west to Chislehurst on the east, up the valley of the Thames and back to the Surrey hills, we have an extra Metropolitan district, in which there is little or no poverty. It contains no communities\* answering to Willesden and Edmonton, Walthamstow or Stratford. Following the course of the Wandle to Merton and Mitcham, there are some factories and with them some signs of an industrial population, but elsewhere the district is mostly devoted to the dwellings of the well-to-do and rich; particularly of those who seek to combine in one house the advantages of town and country, living all the year round within reach of London, instead of finding relaxation from the pressure of London life by a prolonged absence at a second home or a vacation spent somewhere far away from its streets, as is the fashion with rich folk north of the Thames. At Mortlake and East Sheen these conditions of life cross the Metropolitan boundary, and they extend still further inwards at Clapham, where a group of old houses with their stately gardens still hold out against the speculative builder. When we learn that within recent years the branches of great trees met across the roadway where now the tramcars jingle along Lavender Hill, is it unreasonable to suggest that there is a net loss to the community when the pursuit of private profit leads to such destruction?

\* Except, perhaps, Croydon.

## CHAPTER II.

### BATTERSEA.

---

THE district of Battersea contains 2343 acres and extends from Vauxhall on the east to Wandsworth on the west. The Thames bounds it on the north, but its southern boundary is very arbitrary, and a long projecting spit runs down almost to Tooting. That part, however, south of the railway, where the land is more elevated, seems rather by nature to belong to Clapham, and sharing in the advantages of Clapham and Wandsworth Commons is inhabited chiefly by business men and clerks considerably above the position of artisans. Although the attractions of Battersea Park, the chief open space, have to some extent overcome the objections to its low level, and houses of a somewhat superior class have sprung up in its neighbourhood, yet on the whole, socially, the most characteristic part of Battersea is that lying between the railway and the river. Its general aspect is not unfamiliar to most travellers, for it is the view seen on the north from Clapham Junction—a wilderness of houses chiefly of two storeys, with church spires, a fringe of factory chimneys, and the conspicuous masses of the Board Schools rising high above the dead level of the roofs.

The London and South-Western Railway traverses the whole length of the district, and is crossed at right angles near Nine Elms goods station by the London, Chatham, and Dover, and other lines running into Victoria. The river-side, except in the park, is lined with factories and works of various kinds, and the two railway companies above named have their workshops beside their lines.



But these are almost the only places of employment in the district, and the inhabitants nearly all go out of it to earn their living. Some walk to their work, some go by train, and others by the South London tramways which run down Battersea Park Road and also just outside Battersea down Wandsworth Road. But the routes and distances are so varied that it is impossible to secure any adequate statistics.

The fact that Battersea is so largely a residential suburb explains the most remarkable feature in its history—its sudden and enormous growth. From 6617 in 1841 the population rose to 19,582 in 1861, in 1871 to 54,016, and in 1881 to 107,262, while the present estimate would add nearly half as much again to the last total. These figures are indeed most startling, even when we reflect that the movement of population was unconnected with any movement of industry.\*

The occupations of the inhabitants are of almost every kind. Besides the railway servants and companies' mechanics working in the district, there are many railway servants who travel up and down by the lines to which they belong. The large amount of building which has been required to house the increasing population, has brought a considerable number of men in the building trades, whose work, however, is now gradually passing further away. The chief local industries are Price's Candle works, the Starch and the Sugar works, the Plumbago Crucible, the Projectile and the various Gas and Water works, and in all of these there is regular employment for good hands. It may also be mentioned that the largest of the S. T. cab-yards is in

\* This vast increase, so far as connected with immigration, is considered elsewhere. I may here mention that the Charity Organization Society, which deals with a considerable number of families in Battersea, finds that a good many of their applicants have come from the West country, especially Devonshire, by the South-Western Railway, and that many have come from Chelsea owing to their former houses having been pulled down. But this refers naturally only to one section of the people—the unsuccessful.



Battersea. It may be questioned whether in any other suburb there is more washing done either by private hands or in large establishments, such as that in which all the linen of Messrs. Spiers and Pond is washed. In connection with this last class of work there is a mystery which I have been unable to solve. In summer, when the husbands are in full work, many wives do nothing; in the winter months the men's work ceases, and although the supply of washing to be done is certainly not greater than in the summer, the wives are not only very glad to apply for this work, but are able to get it. Of course, the same amount might be distributed among a greater number of women, but this is not a sufficient explanation, since the really good hands always have as much as they can do. Where does this providential increase come from? \*

Certain occupations have of course died out. The district is no longer agricultural, one or two fields are all that is left of the once large market gardens, and the progress of sanitation is marked in the reports of the health officers by the gradual extinction of pigstyes. Ten or a dozen years ago, a caravan on some vacant land by the roadside was no uncommon sight. But though there is no waste ground now, the gipsies have not wholly forsaken Battersea, and spend the winter in certain yards where their caravans are drawn up in rows. They live orderly lives, and the children go to Board Schools, but when spring comes, the horses are harnessed, and the caravans disperse once more throughout the country.

Except a few chance waiters and German bakers, foreigners are almost unknown in Battersea, but nevertheless, between the locality and its inhabitants, there is as a rule no association nor necessary connection. Most of them live in it only because it is within reach of their work, and

\* It is suggested that the wives of gas-works winter hands take washing only in the summer, which may partly meet the difficulty.

have come there rather than anywhere else only because some friend or fellow-workman speaks well of the place.

As of work, so of play; there are few local places of entertainment. The failure of the Albert Palace has passed into history, and in the district there is only one music-hall. There are a certain number of clubs, chiefly political, and a certain amount of entertainments organized more or less definitely with certain objects, and in Battersea Park, which seems to be much valued and much used, cricket and football are played. The Public Libraries Act has been adopted, and there are now three of these institutions open: the public baths are successful, and a "polytechnic" is to be opened near the Albert Palace. But these are the exceptions, and for other than family pleasures the inhabitants of Battersea must resort to London.

Perhaps the most interesting section of Battersea is that known as the Shaftesbury Estate, between the railway and the high ground to the south, and chiefly inhabited by superior artisans. It was purchased by a company some twenty years ago, and is managed on purely business lines, paying a rather high dividend. The regulations in force are somewhat strict; for example, by the original rules lodgers and businesses were not allowed. The lowest rent for single houses (four-roomed) is seven shillings and sixpence a week, and the rents range to twelve shillings. Purchase is simplified, and many men own the houses in which they live. There is a club, but the original clubhouse is now converted into model dwellings. Besides "the Estate" itself, which keeps up its position if only from the fact that those unable to pay their rents have to find quarters elsewhere, there is a good deal of house property in its immediate neighbourhood of very much the same character. Here it is that the intelligent portion of the Socialism of the district is chiefly to be found, and the colony represents perhaps the high-water mark of the life of the intelligent London artisan.

Of the other extreme, the worse elements have for the most part taken refuge in blocks of houses isolated by blank walls or railway embankments, or untraversed by any thoroughfare. Some of the courts have long been notorious in the neighbourhood—one, for instance, is popularly known as “Little Hell”—and these have certainly improved with the advent of Board Schools and increased police. In the infernal court in question, a School Board visitor tells me, in 1871, when the Education Act first came into force, there were 108 children, only seven of whom were attending school, and of these seven, four were the children of the only teetotaller in the place. The isolated block at Nine Elms, which is the worst spot in the district, suffered a good deal when the Gas Company moved their chief station to Beckton, and with the work went the best workmen. But when the site of the Southwark and Vauxhall Waterworks is built over, one of the walls which shut the inhabitants off from civilization will be abolished.

Occasionally, however, a row of houses falls into bad repute, due merely to a few undesirable tenants who, if they are not ejected, render the neighbourhood too hot for any one with a taste for decency. In one such street, built only three or four years ago on the grounds of a house which long held out against all offers, the landlord has had to board up several houses in self-defence.

But though there are a few antiquated cottages remaining, it cannot be said that the very poor are badly housed in Battersea. In the most conspicuous cases, indeed, it is the tenants who have made the worst of their dwellings by removing every scrap of wood or iron that could be torn away, and it is the more respectable houses which probably leave most to be desired. Where a hundred thousand people have had to be lodged within twenty years, jerry-building has not been unknown, and the foundations of some houses are said not to have been of the sweetest or most solid.



There is one large set of model dwellings by the Albert Palace which preserves its prosperity by the same methods as the Shaftesbury Estate, but does not seem to be very popular. Common lodging-houses are not a feature of Battersea, indeed there are only some half-dozen in all, but on the other hand the number of tenants who sub-let is very great.

If "three removes" are still "as bad as a fire," then a fire can have but small terrors for many of these people. For there are two classes of them who are always changing their abodes. The superior of these is respectable but restless, and its members delight to go into the newest houses for a year or two, until they have worn off some of the first splendours, and then away they go to pastures newer still. The other's love of change is a mark of the worst streets, and is closely connected with arrears of rent. "Four houses in four months," "Five houses in eighteen months," so run my notes. But these moves are seldom further than three streets away, and a year or two will very probably witness the return of the exiles to within a few doors of one of their many forsaken homes.

It is hard to fix a standard, but rents, though not so high as in London, still bear a very large proportion to the earnings of the tenants, and there is no doubt but that dire poverty drives families at first decent into the very worst streets for the sake of the rent, which is lowered by the character of the other tenants, who in turn live there for the sake of the privilege of behaving as they please.

There is certainly a good deal of true poverty in certain parts of Battersea, but whether this could be really cured is another question. Very much of it is accompanied by drink, which may have been either the cause of misfortune or the effect of despair. The irregular employment which is the lot of the building trades, among others, requires strict thrift in summer to avoid distress in winter, and the uncertainty of the weather on which so much depends does not favour methodical economy.



But apart from these, the chief evident causes of distress are those improvident marriages which have left a large number of very poor widows to whom the solace of out-relief is somewhat freely afforded, and the weakness and sudden failure of health of husbands which result in a sort of premature widowhood for their wives.

The state of things represented by the accompanying figures belongs to June, 1889. I have followed as closely as possible the frame-work used in Mr. Booth's volume on East London, with the sole exception that as there was not a score of sailors in Battersea, I have included these in class 18, and devoted class 17 to private servants living with their families. There is this further difference which will, I believe, apply to all similar neighbourhoods, that whereas in the East Class H is distinguished as the only servant-keeping class, in the west at least half of G, although perhaps no wealthier, yet employs a girl. The standards of ease and display, if not of thrift, are higher.

I have taken down the whole of the information myself from the various sources accessible, and alone am to be held responsible for errors. I had no close knowledge of the district, and have simply tried to record and compare the opinions of those who knew it best.

This inquiry was undertaken before Mr. Booth had decided immediately to extend his investigations beyond East London, and I may say that the result of this independent trial of his method has convinced me of the great value of its general results. But in cases where the numbers are too small to furnish a good average they must in my columns be regarded as possibly accidental, and I would for instance place but small reliance on the distribution by class of sections 7 to 12. It is seldom easy to secure an extreme verdict on individual cases, and the average of a street may be correctly given as B while at least half of its inhabitants would individually be allowed to pass into E. So that it is sometimes necessary to infer from the general to the particular.

*Table of Sections and Classes. BATTERSEA.*

Section.	Description.	Very Poor.		Poor.		Comfortable.		Well-to-do.		Total.	Percentage.
		A. Lowest Class.	B. Casual Earnings.	C. Irregular Earnings.	D. Regular Minimum.	E. Ordinary Standard Earnings.	F. Highly Paid Work.	G. Lower Middle.	H. Upper Middle.		
Labour .....	1 Lowest class, loafers, &c. ....	507	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	507	0·3
„	2 Casual day-to-day labour.....	—	2,128	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,128	1·4
„	3 Irregular labour.....	—	—	10,415	—	—	—	—	—	10,415	6·8
„	4 Regular work, low pay .....	—	—	—	10,891	—	—	—	—	10,891	7·1
„	5 „ „ ordinary pay .....	—	—	—	—	6,473	—	—	—	6,473	4·2
„	6 Foremen and responsible work ...	—	—	—	—	—	2,125	—	—	2,125	1·4
Artisans .....	7 Building trades .....	9	404	4,453	395	11,629	2,907	35	—	19,832	13·0
„	8 Furniture, woodwork, &c. ....	9	44	483	210	3,039	1,308	—	—	5,093	3·3
„	9 Machinery and metals .....	26	123	369	193	3,892	2,503	35	—	7,131	4·7
„	10 Sundry artisans .....	—	35	237	360	3,390	2,143	70	—	6,235	4·1
„	11 Dress .....	—	26	114	79	1,028	527	61	—	1,835	1·2
„	12 Food preparation .....	9	44	176	334	1,440	335	9	—	2,347	1·5
Locomotion	13 Railway servants .....	—	—	26	1,194	4,672	2,029	61	—	7,982	5·2
„	14 Road service .....	—	114	395	483	1,028	141	—	—	2,161	1·4
Assistants ...	15 Shops and refreshment houses ...	—	17	246	580	2,776	799	26	—	4,444	2·9
Other wages	16 Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	—	—	—	527	975	335	88	—	1,925	1·3
„	17 Private servants .....	—	—	17	202	1,107	658	35	—	2,019	1·3
„	18 Other wage earners .....	—	17	211	352	1,458	615	52	—	2,705	1·8
Manufac- turers, &c. 19 }	Home industries (not employing)	17	185	545	167	1,098	123	9	—	2,144	1·4

20	Small employers .....	—	—	—	9	219	975	475	9	1,687	1.1
21	Large employers .....	—	—	—	—	—	9	211	123	343	0.2
Dealers .....	Street sellers, &c. ....	9	149	509	141	378	70	—	—	1,256	0.8
22	General dealers .....	—	53	308	35	202	35	—	—	633	0.4
23	Small shops .....	—	17	246	246	1,686	676	9	—	2,880	1.9
24	Large shops (with assistants).....	—	—	—	—	123	1,835	1,432	44	3,434	2.3
25	Coffee and boarding houses .....	—	—	17	17	123	61	—	—	218	0.1
26	Licensed houses .....	—	9	17	26	141	255	176	—	624	0.4
27	Clerks and agents .....	9	26	184	299	2,899	4,295	3,373	334	11,419	7.5
28	Subordinate professional .....	—	9	9	—	184	615	1,037	79	1,933	1.3
29	Professional .....	—	—	—	—	—	—	44	378	422	0.3
30	No work .....	—	106	141	96	123	26	—	—	492	0.3
31	Ill and no occupation .....	—	—	—	79	264	211	106	61	721	0.5
32	Independent .....	—	—	—	439	158	26	—	—	5,173	3.4
Females .....	Semi-domestic employment .....	44	3,188	1,318	237	96	—	—	—	641	0.4
33	Dress .....	—	176	237	132	9	—	—	—	272	0.2
34	Small trades .....	26	123	70	44	9	—	—	—	464	0.3
35	Employing and professional .....	—	—	—	158	263	26	17	—	605	0.4
36	Supported .....	17	44	35	246	228	9	26	—	474	0.3
37	Independent .....	—	—	—	53	184	167	70	—	13,156	8.6
38	Other adult women .....	32	700	2,078	1,796	5,121	2,581	745	103	7,646	5.0
39	Population of unscheduled houses	—	—	—	—	2,322	—	3,391	1,933	152,885	100.0
Unscheduled 40	Per cent.....	714	7,737	22,856	19,783	58,718	28,420	11,593	3,064	—	—
	Inmates of institutions .....	0.5	5.1	14.9	12.9	38.5	18.6	7.5	2.0	—	—
		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,710	—

TOTAL POPULATION..... 154,595

## CHAPTER III.

### OUTLYING LONDON—NORTH OF THE THAMES.

THE wealth of West London places it on the whole somewhat outside of the subject-matter of this book, but there are to be found in it six specially poor districts already referred to in a previous chapter, as to which some particulars now follow.

District.	A.	B.	C & D.	E & F.	G & H.	Total.	Percentage in poverty.
Westminster .....	730	4,051	4,651	8,155	360	17,857	
Per cent. ....	4'1	22'7	25'5	45'7	2'0	100'0	52'3
Lisson Grove .....	942	6,905	15,697	20,884	3,168	47,596	
Per cent. ....	2'0	14'5	33'0	43'8	6'7	100'0	49'5
The "Lock Bridge," Westbourne Park .....	150	556	9,160	5,636	250	15,752	
Per cent. ....	0'9	3'5	58'2	35'8	1'6	100'0	62'6
Kensal New Town .....	73	1,305	5,252	5,234	42	11,906	
Per cent. ....	0'6	11'0	44'1	44'0	0'3	100'0	55'7
St. Clement's Road.....	1,516	2,496	8,201	4,919	214	17,346	
Per cent. ....	8'7	14'4	47'3	28'4	1'2	100'0	70'4
Wandsworth Bridge Road	478	2,169	2,595	2,445	81	7,768	
Per cent. ....	6'2	27'9	33'4	31'5	1'0	100'0	67'5

*Westminster.*—The poverty of Westminster has peculiarities connected with a situation in too close proximity to great wealth. Except where there has been recent demolition of old property, leaving an open space very soon to be re-occupied, the ground is packed with houses, the spaces between the streets being filled with little courts and blind alleys. The people look poor and vicious, and comparing this district with others, it is the vicious look which strikes the eye. Nor does more intimate knowledge



materially alter this general impression. Details obtained for half a dozen streets disclose a deplorable lack of any employments which can be dignified by the name "industry," except indeed charing, of which there is a great deal in connection with the public offices. We hear of a street knife-grinder whose wife sells flowers: a one-legged man with a piano-organ. A drunken law writer, whose wife, too, is a flower seller. A hawker of pocket knives about offices. A seller of oranges by the fountain near the Abbey. A blind man who makes nets and sells them by St. Martin's Church. A buyer of bottles and fat down area steps. A man who, calling himself a labourer, in truth lives on the earnings of a prostitute. Of one court now nearly all pulled down we read, "Every house inhabited by prostitutes of the most degraded type except one family, who get their living by making paper flowers." We are told of one part of this district that "the lowest class of the people will not keep to regular labour even if it is found for them. They begin life as match sellers, &c., or go round with professional beggars, and they work harder as children than they do in the later years of their lives." And again that they "do not suffer very much from actual want, being so conveniently placed in the neighbourhood of the large squares, &c., where food can generally be obtained for the asking. The Charity Organization Society is bitterly hated here. Drink is the great destroyer. Many of the people, more especially the fallen women, almost live on it."

Of another district we are told that it is falling rapidly in character owing to an influx due to demolitions in the adjoining parish. The colours of the streets on our map were declared too favourable, and the details given us seem to bear out the contention.

It must not be supposed, however, that amongst the 18,000 people living within our prescribed boundaries there is nothing else. The Peabody trustees have a large block of decently occupied dwellings and have undertaken the

management of another block which in their hands has greatly improved in character. There are also parts of the district which contain a very respectable class of artisans and clerks, together with a sprinkling of professional men.\*

*Lisson Grove.* That there should be 50,000 people, half of whom are poor, living together in the midst of wealthy West London, is remarkable, and I know of no sufficient explanation.† Of this population, the poor half are said to be friendly but very ignorant. Savage rather than bad. The men mostly casual labourers and hawkers, while the women do washing and charring. Below these there is a substratum of thieves, cadgers, common prostitutes, and other loose and loafing men and women. Throughout, drink is very prevalent. The people and the place have a character of their own; different from East London, very different from Central London; rather more like some parts south of the Thames; but with a difference due probably to the peculiarity of the West End situation, surrounded by the houses of the rich.‡

“*The Lock Bridge.*” The group of streets included in this district, lying in the hollow of a bend in the canal, shade off from purple to dark blue, the greatest poverty being, as usual, next the canal. It will be seen from the figures that this district is not at all bad, nor is there much destitution; but of poverty in a more moderate form there is an enormous proportion, no less than 58 per cent. falling under C and D. The peculiarity of the district lies in the evident “unexpectedness” of its poverty. There was no

\* The boundaries adopted are—on the east the Thames, on the north the Abbey and Victoria Street, on the west and south, Strutton Ground and Horseferry Road.

† It is said that when New Oxford Street was cut through the wretched district north of St. Giles, a number of those who were disturbed came to the neighbourhood of Lisson Grove.

‡ The boundaries taken are—on the east Seymour Place, Lisson Grove, and Grove Road; on the north St. John's Wood Road; on the west Edgware Road; and on the south Upper George Street.

thought of it when the houses were built, and we see poverty in all the discomfort of "the cast-off clothes of the rich." The whole district, as seen on Saturday afternoon, swarms with children.\*

*Kensal New Town* lies in another bend of the canal, wedged in between railway and canal. It, however, is older than either, and retains yet something of the appearance of a village, trampled under foot by the advance of London, but still able to show cottages and gardens; and gateways between houses in its streets leading back to open spaces, suggestive of the paddock and pony of days gone by. The figures for this district, as for its neighbour by the Lock Bridge, but most notably for this district, show an absence of the top and bottom classes. Classes G and H count here for little more than  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., and A barely exceeds  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The numbers of "very poor" are not great, and the bulk of the population are equally divided between the two standard grades of working class life; a not unhealthy state of things. This district is beyond the limits of our map.

*St. Clement's Road.* Here we find poverty of as deep and dark a type as anywhere in London; nearly 9 per cent. of A, over 14 per cent. of B, and 47 per cent. of C and D, form a record hardly to be exceeded anywhere. It is said that in old times the gipsies entering London from the west camped here, and have left their traces on the character and even the faces of the people. It is certain that now tramps arriving make this a halting place. The streets round about the large Board school show solid poverty, and two of them—Bangor Street and St. Katherine's Road—have a bad character. The general poverty of the district may be gauged by the returns of the school. The fee is only 1d, and half the fees are remitted, and five hundred children receive free meals.

\* The boundaries taken are—on the east Ranelagh Road; on the north Clarendon Street to Brindley Street; on the west from canal to the railway; and on the south Marlborough Street and Westbourne Terrace North.



The houses are mostly of six rooms, let to three or more families. The residue consists mainly of old cottage property, some very dirty and dilapidated. The population, besides hawkers, tinkers, grinders, and other desultory professions, consists mostly of the struggling labouring class, mixed with a few little shopkeepers. This district, like Kensal New Town, is beyond the limits of the map.\*

*Wandsworth Bridge Road.* Poverty and gasworks lie cheek by jowl in all parts of London. The fumes are disagreeable, and the neighbourhood, falling in character, becomes naturally the home, amongst others, of the more irregularly employed of gas company's servants. This is the case in the group of streets lying between King's Road and the Imperial gasworks, the remaining inhabitants being mechanics and labourers of a mixed class, whose wives do laundry work, &c. Imperial Square, the only pink street here, is owned by the gas company, and occupied by their regularly employed hands. Among the streets surrounding Langford Road Board schools are Bulrow and Victoria Roads, which bear a very bad reputation, the houses, though modern, being in a most dirty and unsanitary condition, having nearly all the windows broken, and being crowded with a rough and shifty set of people, including some doubtful characters. Sandilands and Langford Roads are a little tidier, but the people are miserably poor, and the same may be said of Breer, Dymock, and other streets, which lie nearer the river. In Marine Field Road, and in the district at the back of Wandsworth Bridge Road, a lot of very nice six-roomed houses are being erected, with accommodation for two families in each. There is a separate entrance to each floor, and the rents are 6s and

\* The boundaries of this district are—on the east Clarendon Road and Walmer Road; on the north the Metropolitan Railway; on the west the West London Railway; and on the south Clifton Street, St. Katherine's Road, and Clarendon Place.



6s 6d per half-house. These houses are occupied as ready by a fairly comfortable class of people.\*

Of other parts of outer London north of the Thames, Hackney has been described in Volume I. To the west of Hackney and northward of the City and Pentonville Roads, which have been elsewhere alluded to as forming the boundary of Greater Central London, lies the huge parish of Islington, which extends to the base of Highgate Hill, and contains perhaps the largest population of any parish in the kingdom. A glance at our poverty map shows the general prevalence here of fairly comfortable circumstances, rising occasionally to affluence, but there are nevertheless several dark patches. One of the most noticeable of these is that lying to the south-east of Essex Road, between Packington Street and Rotherfield Street, which is remarkable as consisting largely of blocks of dwellings. These buildings, which are not by any means of a bad type, were erected on the site of a former rookery known as Angler's Gardens, and it would seem as though the original inhabitants had, contrary to usual practice, returned to make their abode in the new dwellings, or else had been succeeded by their nearest of kin. Higher up, on the same side of the road, we have a small piece of blue, covering what was formerly glebe land, adjoining an ancient turnpike gate. A much larger block is that which surrounds the lower part of the Caledonian Road, dipping into Holborn parish as far as Pentonville Road, extending to Copenhagen Street northwards, touching more lightly the Liverpool Road border, and just insinuating itself to the confines of York Road, but pressed back by warehouses and canal, and further up by a compact group of streets of just a little better class. The great network of railways radiating from King's Cross, going northwards to the Cattle Market, and covering, with adjoin-

\* The boundaries of this district are—on the east the West London Railway; on the north King's Road; on the west Fulham fields; and on the south the river.

ing gasworks, wharves and works, more than 200 acres of ground, and making Somers Town almost a thing of the past, naturally suggest where the inhabitants of this part find their means of livelihood, whilst Chapel Street forms a typical poor man's market, and is on any week-day as busy and lively a spot as any that can be found in London. High Street, continued as Upper Street, which near this point leads off from that important centre of traffic, the "Angel," is a continuous scene of bustle, excitement, and gay life, reminding one, with its large shops, theatre, music hall, Agricultural Hall, &c., of a leading West End thoroughfare. Following up the line of railway, and keeping an eye towards Caledonian Road, we come upon another poor group, to which the suggestively dark-shaded Bemerton Street forms the key. We are now in the once highly odorous locality of Belle Isle, altered vastly by railway encroachments and the erection of big blocks of dwellings (by the Corporation of London), where humble shanties or lowly cottages once stood, but still betraying the signs of a lingering and unsavoury celebrity, where the open gateway of a yard or warehouse reveals heaps of offal within. The streets here, it will be noticed, are almost uniformly light blue, a colour which doubtless fairly represents the social status of the inhabitants, but which hardly portrays their moral character. There is a darker strain not usual in our typical light-blue street, not to be confounded with black, nor yet expressible by colour, but which nevertheless is evident to a passer-by. A group of rough hobbledehoyes are at horse-play in one street, varying this amusement by making uncomplimentary remarks regarding any decently dressed pedestrian, while women with unkempt heads and generally a dirty-faced baby in arms peer out from windows or look on from open doorways. The corner houses are doing a thriving business, and outside one a couple of besotted individuals are indulging in a "friendly spar," giving and receiving mock blows with half-imbecile good humour. In another street a group

of young men have a cage of rats, and are letting them out one at a time for the sport of themselves and a couple of terriers, who make short work of the rodents. It is altogether a low-class scene, and is characteristic also of another poverty block further on, which surrounds the St. James's and Wellington Roads, and is the abode of a rough set, including many whose occupation is in some way connected with the great Cattle Market near by. Opposite, on the east side of Holloway Road, and beyond the limits of our map, a confined poor area clusters round Queensland Road, and affords plenty of scope for the active agencies of St. Barnabas' Church, whilst yet higher up a group of streets to the south-west of Holloway Road show both poverty and vice, as evidenced by the condition of the children at Yerbury Road Board School.

Side by side with Islington, but not quite so large either in area or population, lies St. Pancras, which includes Camden and Kentish Towns and that portion of Highgate which comes within the metropolitan area. If anything, its colouring, so far as the map shows it, seems a trifle lower than that of its neighbour, but the figures prove its proportion of poverty to be much about the same. In the southern corner, between Gray's Inn Road and Woburn Place, poverty lies in close juxtaposition to the wealth of "the squares," and judging from the liberal admixture of black, would seem to be anything but improved thereby. As on the east side, so on the west, the big railway clearance is fringed by a poor and, in some cases, vicious population, shown in the group of streets between it and Seymour Street, purple being the predominating hue. Leaving here by way of Drummond Street, and crossing Hampstead Road to Stanhope Street, we go through another poor and rather bad neighbourhood, but relieved by cross streets of better type. Camden Town, through which we pass on our way northwards, is a fairly comfortable and thriving neighbourhood,



and is not without local life and character of its own. The neighbourhood has probably changed somewhat from the time when it was considered as eminently an abode of gentility, and its streets are now largely occupied by respectable lodging letters.

The High Street is a very busy place, particularly on Saturday nights when the roadways are lined with stalls of every description, and on Sundays when the young men and maidens of "Twopenny Town" enjoy their promenade. Kentish Town (which divides with its twin sister, Camden, the distinction of being the especial home of the pianoforte trade) is decidedly poorer than its relative, including a considerable coster element. Prince of Wales Road, Malden and Weedington Roads, are the chief thoroughfares through a neighbourhood in which purple, pink, and blue are almost equally intermingled, and which extends a little outside the map. Queen's Crescent is the principal market place of this locality, its flaring naphtha lights being so numerous on busy nights as to quite illuminate the sky and mark out its whereabouts very distinctly to the stroller on the heights of Hampstead or Highgate.

Marylebone is more of a western than northern parish, and its one important poor neighbourhood, Lisson Grove, has been already dealt with. Beyond it, and in the same School Board division, lies Hampstead—a district which has had an eventful history, and teems with interesting tradition. Originally, it is said, "a place inhabited principally by washerwomen," it became for a time, in the period of the Georges, the resort of gay fashion, attracted by the supposed wonderful virtues of its chalybeate springs, or by the dancing saloons and other amusements which were set up. Subsequently, with the permanent dedication to the public of its expansive and beautiful heath, has come a rapid development, and the old town has been almost "improved" off its hill. Hampstead is at present one of



the largest and most prosperous of the well-to-do residential suburbs of London, being inhabited principally by City men, and sharing with St. John's Wood an influential colony of workers in art, science, and literature. The heath has recently been greatly enlarged by the addition of more than 250 acres of land, including the famous Parliament or Traitor's Hill, and as a genuinely popular holiday resort has but few equals.

Passing beyond the metropolitan boundary, to the west of Hampstead lies Willesden, with a population of clerks, professional and other villa residents which has increased enormously within the last decade; and more to the north is Hendon, a long straggling parish which includes quaint villages and quite old-world spots, but is yet growing considerably. Finchley and Friern Barnet adjoin, partaking of much the same character and marked by the same steady increase. Wood Green has undergone rapid change, first in the introduction of detached or semi-detached houses, and later in the erection of a large number of working class dwellings, principally by the Artisans', Labourers', and General Dwellings Company, who have all their machinery here and employ a large number of hands. Green spots are quickly falling into the builders' hands, some old mansions have already disappeared and others are for sale, new streets of shops cater for a new class, and there are all the signs which portray the modern transformation of outlying London. Hornsey is in much the same condition, but in Tottenham the process has been going on for some years, and now approaches completion, with the result that within twenty years its population has increased four-fold, and probably now numbers over 80,000 persons, mainly of the working or lower middle class. Edmonton has likewise grown largely, but retains more of its original character, and has yet great room for extension. An inquiry into the circumstances of the people in these districts would doubtless show that as a rule they are a fairly comfortable class,

but with some poor spots, and differing not materially from their neighbours in Hackney.

---

#### WALTHAMSTOW.

IN an earlier part of this volume\* reference is made to the huge working class district of West Ham, comprising some 300,000 inhabitants, which lies eastward beyond the metropolitan boundary, but is in other respects an integral portion of London. Walthamstow has here been chosen for some detailed description as representative of this district, as well as being sufficiently typical of popular residential suburban life generally.

Separated from the metropolis by the River Lea and the adjoining marshy lands, and lying some distance from the main roads, Walthamstow was until recent years little more than a large country village, as genuinely rural in its character and surroundings as if situated a hundred miles away. Twenty years ago there was no railway station within two miles, and trains or public vehicles were very few and far between; the old, steady-going inhabitants went on their way untroubled by visions of the invading army of East-enders which was shortly to effect such changes in their midst, for the now crowded district of St. James' Street was then open land, and save for a few old cottages or mansions, the ground right away from the waterworks to Hoe Street was practically unoccupied. Beyond Hoe Street, however, as also further north at Higham Hill, houses of a good class were even then springing up, many city men, attracted by the comparative cheapness of the land, having chosen it as a place of residence. Still, however, the district, with old-fashioned Wood Street as its local centre, retained its quiet and eminently respectable character.

But the pressing necessities of East London soon changed

\* Chapter II. of Part I.

all this, and with the opening of the railway in 1872 the flow of Londoners may be fairly said to have set in. The rapidity of the influx may be judged from the fact the population in 1871 was only 11,000; in 1881, it was nearly 22,000, and now it is estimated at 50,000. The older residents looked askance upon this invasion, destroying as it did the rural quiet and selectness of the locality, and many of the wealthier families gave up their houses and retreated further afield; but it must not be supposed that this by any means necessarily involved pecuniary sacrifice on their part, for many of them, observing the shadows of coming events, had made due preparation. Some time before this companies had been formed, and land purchased in different parts and held ready to be parcelled out into "eligible building sites" as soon as required, whilst building societies were ready (*not* to build, for that seems to be quite outside the province of an ordinary *building* society), but to advance good money—of course at good interest and on good security—to anyone who liked to take the risk of house-building. And so the way of the impecunious and speculative builder was made plain. Raising a few pounds, sufficient to buy or pay a deposit on a plot or two of land, and getting credit from the timber merchant, brickmaker, &c., he rapidly ran up the structure, and obtained, as soon as the roof was on, an advance from the building society with which he paid or partly paid his creditors, and so went on again. But the path of Jerry, though so smooth at first, often proves a very difficult one in the end, and so it turned out with many of the builders of Walthamstow. Speculating rashly, building ahead of the immediate demand, or through some other form of erroneous calculation, mismanagement, or misfortune, payments became due before he was in a position to meet them, and at length the mortgagee stepped in and appropriated the property.

By selling their land or disposing of their leases in this way, several of the older inhabitants have managed to turn



to profitable account the influx which it has been rather fashionable to lament. It would not, however, be right to say that the locality has been entirely developed by this means, even in the St. James' Street district. At least one large landowner—and there may be others—has had parts of his estate laid out under his own superintendence, and has spent a very large sum of money in having excellent roads made, and substantial and attractive-looking small houses built, with good drainage and water supply, in the hope of obtaining a better class of tenants than the generality of the new-comers. The experiment, however, has scarcely proved a success. The bulk of those who find their way to Walthamstow are of the medium or poor working class, attracted by the cheapness of rents. The reputation of the place becomes fixed upon this state of things, and the more "uppish" class will not come to the same locality. Consequently it has been necessary to let the houses as best they could be, and two or even three families now occupy dwellings which were intended for one.

For the rest, the houses (I am speaking now of the St. James' Street district) are well accorded to the circumstances of the people. They are nearly all two-storeyed, some with four rooms for one family, and others with six or seven rooms, built to accommodate two families. In the construction of the latter much ingenuity has been exercised; in some cases the upper rooms are approached by an outside ladder, and in others there are two doors, one leading to the upper and the other to the ground-floor apartments. The tenancies are entirely weekly, rents ranging from 6s to 8s for the smaller houses, and 8s to 10s or 11s for the rest.

The boundaries of Walthamstow are:—On the east Woodford, on the north Chingford and the River Lea, which also flows along the entire western border, and on the south Leyton. It covers an area measuring four miles from east to west, and over two miles in the other direction.

For local purposes the parish is divided into four wards;



St. James' Street, with about 20,000 people and 3400 houses, and Hoe Street, with nearly 15,000 people and 2600 houses, being the modern and populous parts, whilst Wood Street, with some 8000 inhabitants, is the old part, and the Higham Hill district, comprising much more than half of the total area of the parish, remains but very little developed, and has only about 4800 residents.

Though a few have found their way as far as Wood Street, the great bulk of East Londoners who have come this way have settled in the neighbourhood of St. James' Street, and have here reproduced the characteristics of East End life, insomuch that the locality is sometimes known as "Little Bethnal Green." Not but what they are on the whole probably improved by the change—the houses are as yet better, the streets more breezy and open, and the hours kept are earlier, the public-houses closing at 11 o'clock, after which little is done, even on busy nights—but there are the familiar evidences of poverty, on a smaller scale—of vice, improvidence, or misfortune—broken windows patched with paper or rags, dirty, poorly-clad, but sharp-looking children, thriving public-houses, a busy Saturday night market, when the principal streets are full of stalls and redolent of naphtha lights, fried fish and vegetable refuse, and the penny show and "all the fun of the fair" are in evidence; there is also the same constant shifting, and not infrequently "moonlight flitting" from the district. To many the place is still but a summer resort, and in the "sweet spring-time" it is no unusual thing to see a small procession of weak-kneed broken-winded hacks or jaded-looking donkeys dragging their weary length along the Lea Bridge Road, drawing carts laden with household goods of a rickety and heterogeneous order; or returning by the same way "when the leaves begin to turn." There is, however, not quite so much of this as there was, the tendency on the whole, though very gradual, being for the population to become more stationary. Some of

those who come here are young, newly-married people, and probably are the most hopeful class amongst the new arrivals. Young couples of a thrifty turn look out for a place where rents are cheap and which is not too remote from their old surroundings, and obtain what they need in the small houses of Walthamstow. On the other hand, men who have children growing up do not find the place so convenient, and it is said that several steady and respectable men of the better artisan class have gone back after a residence of some years, finding that the railway fares and other expenses of Tom, Harry, or Lizzie, who are learning a trade in London and not earning much money, make it cheaper and more convenient to live in town.

Walthamstow is almost purely a residential district. With one or two minor exceptions, it has no local industry whatever, and consequently is dependent for its existence on its means of communication with the centres of work. Each week-morning there is a general exodus of the male population, and save for the milkman, coal vendor, or other tradesman, not a man or youth is to be seen. Between 5 and 6 A.M., half a dozen crowded workmen's trains leave for Liverpool Street, and two for Gospel Oak, the fare for the return journey being 2*d* for the former and 3*d* for the latter, and the number of passengers carried about 2700. Following this come five half-fare trains, the last of which leaves Hoe Street at 7.36 A.M.; nearly 2500 tickets (at 4½*d* each) are daily issued for these. The crush to catch the trains (and especially the later ones of each kind) at one time became so great as to cause public indignation, but this has now been to some extent remedied by the opening of an additional entrance and ticket box at St. James' Street station, and by the issue of tickets overnight. Holders of workmen's tickets may return by any train after 12 noon on Saturdays, and after 4 P.M. on other days; half-price tickets are available for return by any train. Considering the distance from Hoe Street, 6¼ miles, these fares cannot

be considered unreasonable. In addition to the above, there are something like 700 or 800 season-ticket holders, and adding to this those who travel at ordinary rates, it is probable that from 6000 to 7000 people leave Walthamstow each week-morning to follow their employment or on some business errand in town. The growth of this traffic may be judged from the fact that in the early days of the line two workmen's trains were found amply sufficient for the requirements, and that it was not till 1885 that the half-fare tickets were commenced, when three trains ran. The traffic by road does not count for much, the tram-cars which pass through Lea Bridge Road being too far away, and their destination too remote from the centre of industrial life, to be of avail for business purposes. In the fine weather, however, particularly on Sundays and public holidays, they do a great trade in carrying crowds of gaily dressed North and East-enders to and from the sylvan glades of Epping Forest.\*

Of the general status of the inhabitants of the St. James' Street district something further may be gathered from the details of a few typical streets given at the end of this chapter. As a rule their condition assimilates to, but on the whole is better than, that of their kindred in Bethnal Green or Shoreditch, whilst the leaven of those from other parts, more particularly of country people who have obtained work in London and settled

\* The need for more railway accommodation is apparently much felt, and a bill has lately received Parliamentary sanction authorizing the construction of a new line. This will begin at the South Tottenham station of the Midland Railway, and will run through Walthamstow, where it will have two stations (one at Blackhorse Lane; the other on a site not yet definitely fixed), and thence traverse Leytonstone to Forest Gate, where it joins the London, Tilbury and Southend Railway. The construction of the new railway, which has been promoted by local landowners principally and will be under the joint management of the two companies named, is expected to commence at once (January, 1891), and to be completed in from eighteen months to two years.



here, tends rather to raise the tone. As might be expected, the wood and furniture trades are largely represented, and there are many of the better-paid section of riverside workers—warehousemen, &c.; the building trades account for a good number, and beyond this the occupations are, of course, of all kinds.

Before proceeding to speak of those general features of the district—parochial, educational, charitable, &c.—which are common to all parts alike, a few words may be said, in addition to what has been already intimated, in regard to the other divisions of the parish.

*Hoe Street* might be called the “West End” of Walthamstow, did it not as a matter-of-fact lie to the east. It is mainly a better-class district, consisting largely of detached villas inhabited by well-to-do City men, retired tradesmen, &c., and smaller houses in which live clerks, and others of the subordinate professional grade. In Orford Road are the Town Hall and the parochial offices, and in such places as “The Drive” the local magnates reside. There are some fine shops in Hoe Street, but trade is said not to be very good, owing to the nearness of town and stores.

*Wood Street.* Partaking more of the character of an old country village, this district has for the most part a fixed working class population—natives of rural Essex. A small number of Londoners—migrating perhaps originally to St. James’ Street—seeking better quarters, have found their way here and are forming a little colony of their own. Some building has taken place latterly, and small old cottages are mixed with others of a modern type. There are also a few houses containing two or three families. Rents are rather lower than in St. James’ Street.

*Higham Hill* is an open, healthy country district, as yet too remote from the railway to have been much troubled by new-comers of the poorer sort. Many of the residents have bought their own plots of land, and had their own houses built, through building societies or otherwise. Four



or five years ago, it was thought that a new railway was going to be cut through the district, and a number of houses were built in anticipation; but the project was at that time abandoned, and consequently several of the houses remain untenanted and have fallen out of repair. The new line will come much nearer than the old one does, and is expected to have considerable effect in opening up the district.

*Local Government and Education.*—The local affairs of the parish are almost entirely in the hands of the older residents, the new working classes not having as yet taken any lively interest in parochial matters. Nor is this to be wondered at—in many cases their sojourn is but transient, whilst most, leaving early and returning late, have no time or energy left for anything beyond their own personal affairs, or, if they have, spend it in seeking amusement or in visiting their friends. The parish is attached to the Union of West Ham, and the maintenance of the roads, lighting, drainage, &c., are under the charge of a Local Board, who must have some difficulty in keeping pace with the rapid development of the district, and appear to carry out their work quite as well as such bodies usually do. There is also a Burial Board (which has the care of a pretty cemetery recently opened), and a School Board. In the latter a spasmodic interest was aroused in the James Street district at the last election, resulting in a contest and the return of three “progressive” candidates. The Board has under its control six permanent schools and two small temporary ones. Another school is being built in Markhouse Road to accommodate 1100 children, and a site for a further one has been secured. There are also two voluntary schools. The number of children on the registers of the Board Schools is about 8600, with an average attendance of under 7000, and the fees range from 6*d* to 1*d*, but the great bulk of the children pay 2*d*, the amount being fixed according to the rent paid

by the parents. A large number of the children have their fees remitted. During the last school year over 1500 applications for remission of fees were allowed—mostly for periods of two months or thereabouts—and assuming the number of school children affected to be two-and-a-half per family, as it is in East London, these applications would include about 3700 children.

*Allotments.*—Amongst the advantages of rural or semi-rural life, is the opportunity afforded for the pursuit of gardening. To dig and delve in one's own plot of ground, to constantly watch and tend with pride the growth of what one has so carefully sown, to ultimately reap the fruits of one's own industry in leisure hours, going on Saturday afternoon to one's own garden to dig the vegetables for the Sunday dinner, with mayhap a bunch of flowers to adorn the table or set off the parlour window—these are to many a thrifty workman a source of pleasure as genuine as it is wholesome and delightful to witness. As might be expected, the builders of modern Walthamstow, making haste to be rich, have paid little heed to their clients' taste in this respect, and the back gardens or yards are usually as small and pokey as those of a London street. The public spirit of a few residents, aided largely by charitable bequests, has, however, to a great extent supplied this want, and the parish is favourably situated in the matter of allotments. These are of two kinds—public and charitable. The public allotments are under the control of a Board consisting of nine persons, who are elected annually and are called allotment wardens. They have under their management 26 acres of land, apportioned into 202 plots, and tilled by 217 allottees. The ground is situated at Markhouse Common, Higham Hill, and Clay Street. The land at the two former places was granted about forty years ago, in lieu of certain common rights, which were taken away; that at Clay Street, taken in consequence of the large number applying for allotments, is hired on lease by the wardens. At

Markhouse Common and Higham Hill the ground is let in quarters of an acre at 4s 10d and 5s a year—or practically £1 an acre ; at Clay Street the price is 12s 6d and 13s a year for 20 rods, or about £5 an acre. An interesting show of vegetables grown by the tenants is held each year. In granting allotments, length of residence and the necessities of the case are considered, and as all the ground is occupied and several applicants are on the books, it seems probable that new-comers whose claims are not urgent, if not the rest, will have to wait a long while. For the plots change hands but slowly, and the principle “once an allotment holder always an allotment holder” would seem to apply. It is said that so long as a man cultivates his ground, does not sublet, and pays his rent, he cannot be ejected, and the allottees are of too thrifty a class to forfeit by non-fulfilment of these conditions. In a few cases this has led to persons retaining allotments long after their necessities required it, but as a rule the allottees fairly represent the industrious and saving poor.

The charity allotments are under the control of the Charity Governors, who are elected every three years. They comprise 25 acres of land at Hale End, Hale Brinks, Bull’s Farm, and Higham Hill, which is let in plots of 20 rods, at a rental of 10s per annum, or £4 an acre. There are 200 of these allotments, and about the same number of allottees. The land, not being left primarily for allotments, but for general charitable purposes, has to be let at a rental equal to what it might be expected to realize if used for farming.

There are also two fields let by private owners for allotments, so that the total number of holders is probably nearly 500.

*Charities.*—Walthamstow, like most old parishes, has many endowed charities, some of them of very ancient date. Some particulars of these may be of interest. Of the almshouses, the largest section is that attached to the Monoux



trust, and comprises thirteen houses, which are occupied by aged persons of both sexes. These tenements are now situated in the parish churchyard (St. Mary's), which was not the case when, in 1527, Sir George Monoux founded them, but is the result of extensions of the graveyard. The original endowment was very small, but other benefactions were afterwards left to it or added by arrangement. The inmates get 10s a week each. Collard's almshouses have residences for ten men, who must be members of the Church of England, and who get 4s a week each. By a curious provision in the trust, men who have been in private service are not eligible—probably the shrewd lady founder had heard or experienced something of trustees providing for their old servants out of property of this kind left in their charge. Squire's almshouses are for six widows of tradesmen, who receive about £13 per annum each.

The Monoux Grammar School was founded in 1527, and in it twenty children were taught by the alms-priest who had also charge of the almshouses. After a fluctuating career this endowment has become the nucleus of a large and successful school, where 200 boys receive an education, for which they pay from £4 to £6 per annum, according to age, in addition to twenty-five free scholars who represent the alms-priest's little flock.

Besides the school, upon the endowment of which several old benefactions as well as much modern effort have been concentrated, the "Charity Governors" have control of several small charities realizing about £300 a year, which, after payment of expenses, is distributed to the almsfolk and in New Year's gifts to poor persons.

The Churchwardens and Overseers have charge of benefactions amounting to about £750 a year, which is allotted with some care, so much to the almsfolk, so much to poor widows, &c. Probably the endowed charities, taken altogether, do not realize less than £1200 a year.



There are also voluntary charities, including a benevolent fund from which temporary help was last year afforded to 1400 families in the shape of provisions, fuel or boots, at a cost of over £150.

Finally, the Guardians of the Poor are said to dispense outdoor relief on a liberal scale.

Altogether a good deal is given away, and there is a want of co-operation amongst the givers which leads to imposition and has been the means of attracting some of the cadging class to the neighbourhood.

*Thrift.*—The great friendly societies are fairly represented in Walthamstow, the Ancient Order of Foresters taking the lead. Their largest Court, "Pride of Walthamstow," has nearly 700 financial members, and 70 honorary ones. It has an invested capital of about £2500, and its benefits include payments to members in sickness on the following scale:—15s per week for 26 weeks; 7s 6d for a further 26 weeks; and after that 5s a week so long as the illness lasts. The Court, which has been established forty years, has a juvenile branch, with 200 members and a fund of £150. Another Court, recently founded, has about fifty members. There are two lodges of the Improved Independent Order of Oddfellows, London Unity, with about 150 members and £500 capital, and the Kingston Unity and North Middlesex Unity of the Order have each a lodge, with something over 100 members between them. There are also branches of the Ancient Order of Britons and the Loyal United Friends, each with some seventy members.

A Co-operative Society has been in existence about two years, and has now 120 members. It has recently opened a shop in Markhouse Road and seems to be making fair progress.

*Amusements.*—Walthamstow has neither theatre nor music-hall, and is very like a country place, in that it depends for its amusement mainly on voluntary local effort, aided now and then by a peripatetic company which takes

up its quarters for a night or two at the Town or Victoria Hall. The different places of worship have their occasional concerts or readings, but seemingly the clubs are the most consistent and successful caterers in this respect. Of these there are no less than ten, including a Conservative Club, a Unionist Club, and a Church Youths' Institute, whilst the other seven are more strictly of the working-class order, and are affiliated to the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. Of the seven, four profess Liberal and Radical principles, and the remaining three are purely social, one being teetotal. The combined membership of these working-class clubs is probably from 1200 to 1500, and as the members consist largely of married men, whose wives and families are admitted to the weekly entertainments, &c., they undoubtedly exercise a considerable influence upon the locality. The facilities for outdoor sports and exercises are ample, the river and the forest being both within easy reach, whilst the fields near Blackhorse Lane, as also the recreation ground at Hoe Street and other open spaces, give plenty of room for cricket, tennis, football, &c. The scene on the river and adjoining meadows, on a fine holiday afternoon in summer, is a very animated one.

Of religious bodies, there are quite the average number in Walthamstow, most of the principal sects and creeds having their devotees, but it seems doubtful whether amongst them all they have got hold of the bulk of the people. With philanthropic, charitable, and religious agencies alike, there seems to be, with few exceptions, a want of organization and method—a sense almost of helplessness—in dealing with the mass of the new-comers, and an absence of that intimate knowledge of the daily lives and circumstances of the poor which may be found amongst the clergy and others in the heart of London. Doubtless this is because everything is so comparatively new—not only are a large proportion of the people as yet but “pilgrims and strangers” in the

locality, but the workers amongst them are frequently newcomers also. Consequently it has not been easy to get positive information regarding the circumstances of the people, but all authorities agree in saying that there is a good deal of poverty, amounting in many instances to actual distress, in the district, with not a little improvidence and looseness of life, and equal is the consensus of opinion that this unsatisfactory state of things is rather on the increase. And one may well believe that this is so—that like begets like—and that, once given its particular character, a place so handy as Walthamstow should attract some of the more restless (who are usually amongst the poorest) section of the population, and so result in deterioration which, from a local point of view, is to be regretted. Still, there is another and better side to the picture. The change to more healthy and wholesome surroundings cannot be altogether without its effect upon those who come, and with the encouraging sign of a slightly more stationary population, it is not too much to hope that, when the schoolmaster, the missionary, and the philanthropist have more effectually grappled with their heavy task, there may be a gradual, even if slow, improvement in the standard of life.

I cannot conclude without expressing my thanks to Mr. W. Whittingham, treasurer of the Charity Governors; Mr. J. J. McSheedy, chairman of the Allotment Wardens; the Rev. Herbert Maitland, Mr. Ebenezer Clarke; Messrs. French and Wigg (of the School Board), and others who have kindly furnished me with information, and also to those to whom I am indebted for the subjoined interesting particulars of some parts of the St. James's Street district:—

#### DESCRIPTION A.

I am told that the street here described has been built from time to time and irregularly on what was a common. It turns off a road which still has



ploughed fields on the opposite side. A butcher's shop in the front road unfortunately entails a hideous pen in the back street, where bullocks and sheep are kept ready for slaughter and slaughtered. Three days a week are they driven in, to the intense excitement and terror of the children around. The next shop is a greengrocer's in the specially dead line of the trade, potatoes and onions, &c. The man mostly makes his living by using his carts for carting goods. The inmates of the next house are an elderly man and his wife with their fast-growing-up children, but the poor man has had to be in Brentwood Asylum for more than one period. Then come young married people of the better class, who are Salvationists; and next a little general shop, the man earning his living by other employment, the shop being managed by the woman. Next a little cottage of two rooms stands by itself. It is inhabited by an old man, who lives quite alone—a tidy, independent old fellow, who has never been “on the rates” in his life, having paid into the Foresters' the 5s per week on which he now lives. Next come two little cottages together. In one lives a crippled widow, who takes two lodgers; in the other an old couple have lived for more than forty years. A small terrace stands next, but in and out of these houses the people are constantly shifting and changing, and they are for the most part a bad lot. Two tall houses follow—one a social club, and one inhabited by a respectable man and his wife, who are very poor. The club is not in any way badly conducted. A second little terrace has been almost entirely pulled down and rebuilt, and is becoming inhabited by a better class of people. A large, but in other respects ordinary, nursery garden finishes the street. It is kept by a tidy old man and his wife, who can be got to talk on no subject but their work.

The other side of the street begins with a broken-down terrace, the houses mostly empty when not inhabited by policemen's wives as caretakers. Six or eight tidy, respectable families come next, in houses of different sizes and shapes. The children go to school, and if they do not the officers do not fail to look them up. Why do they not turn their gaze on the next four houses in quest of children also? One is sorry to think of the degradation of drink, impurity of language and fighting that form the weekly scene from money-taking on Saturday till no more drink can be had. The women are even worse than the men; the lying and deceit are simply fearful. I should consider this the blackest part. The next two houses are empty. Then come a few tidy working people, though poor. After them two or three houses with a shifting population; then a respectable old man and his wife in a little house of their own. Next a well-conducted beershop, and beyond a fried-fish-shop kept by rough but honest, hard-working people.

---

## DESCRIPTION B.

In the area described below are more than one thousand families, many of whom are the poorest in Walthamstow, and the winter we



are now passing through has been a severe trial to many, and if not for help afforded must have proved disastrous to a large number whose incomes in fine weather are not sufficient to allow them the opportunity of making provision for hard times. The largest proportion of the breadwinners herein belong to the building trade, such as bricklayers, masons, carpenters, painters, navvies, with labourers in skilled and unskilled labour. Many of these men reckon on doing very little work during the winter months, except that done in the Union Stone Yard, which is one of the last efforts put forth in keeping life in existence. In this part of Walthamstow our population are migratory, they come from various parts of London for cheap rent and after a few months find it not quite as expected, and often on coming move into houses in the day-time but are compelled through force of circumstances to move out by night, to evade the broker and his men. Others save a little money and think a little business in the country such a nice investment. Such persons, through not taking the precaution of making proper inquiries, soon find themselves in difficulties:—

*Thurley Cottages and Rose's Fields.*—The houses herein are built of wood and plaster, the relics of old Walthamstow. The people are very poor, although in many cases they have as much money to spend, if only spent rightly, as their more prosperous neighbours residing near at hand. There are about twenty-four houses, but several of them are now empty, owing to the property changing owners. The rent is 3s 6d a week. Eighteen months ago a worse lot could not be found in any part of this place than those who resided herein. Present occupants:—

No. 1. A widow and two children, keeps a mangle, and assisted by the benevolent.

No. 2. Man and wife; man at work all the week in a city house; stands with a boot-black box on Sundays.

No. 3. Man and wife, with daughter who is blind; both parents are aged; man works on the roads.

No. 4. Man and wife; man a carpenter; home in a wretched state.

No. 5. Shoemaker and wife; man a Socialist.

*Club Road* contains thirty-nine private houses, nineteen shops, two beer-houses, and has about 130 families. During the past two years this street or the people residing here have improved. Most of the houses are let out by half-houses. Usually there are two families, but sometimes more. The people belong to the labouring class and are moderately poor. Specimen subjoined:—

No. 54. Downstairs there is a plasterer, upstairs a bricklayer's labourer. Both have wives and families.

No. 56. Downstairs, a shoemaker; in the upper part, a mill sawyer. Both have families and take in a lodger.

No. 58. Upstairs lives a painter, wife, and four children, and also the father of the wife. Downstairs, a navvy and woman, with lodgers in the front room.

*Cinder Road* has eighteen private houses and two families in most, but in some three. The people are very poor and the difficulty of paying the rent, though small, is the cause of constant change of tenants. They include gardeners, bricklayers, labourers, shoemakers, and dock labourers.

*Ford Road*.—Herein are two shops and thirty-nine dwellings occupied by two and three families. Include the very poorest and the moderately poor; about ninety families. Navvies, harness makers, shoemakers, brass finishers, carpenters, bricklayers, and labourers. The average rent is 3s 6d per half house.

*Fisher's Road*.—Herein are twenty-five houses and about forty families some of whom are very poor and others moderately poor. They are all working men, such as coal porters, draymen, carmen, &c.

*Wenham Road* has ninety-eight houses and 200 families, one beershop and three general shops. Herein we have the three classes—the very poorest, moderately poor, and the fairly comfortable. Most all belong to the wage earning class, and a few of the occupants own their living house and other houses in this and neighbouring streets.

*North Grove*.—Herein are ninety-three houses, seven shops, and two beerhouses. About 220 families. Some houses at the top end are old, semi-detached, roomy, and well built; but the rest are new, cheap, and unsubstantial, and are let out to two and three families, most of whom are moderately poor and of the class already mentioned, in occupation, trades, &c.

## DESCRIPTION C.

*Alpha Road*.—Small houses at about 7s per week. All working class.

1. Man earning about 30s per week in London; four children; off to town by 6 o'clock train.

2. Foreman in neighbouring nursery; good wages; wife keeps small grocer's shop; one child; very comfortably off.

3. Man earns about 25s per week; goes round with coal waggon.

*Beta Road*.—Two-storeyed houses, let out at about 4s 6d a floor.

1. Upstairs, man dying with consumption; wife earns living by mangling; four children; great distress. Downstairs, seamstress; pretty comfortable.

2. Upstairs, widow, one sister; odd dressmaking, charing, &c.; quite poor. Downstairs, man; irregular work in London; three or four children. Very poor.

3. Downstairs, a man; several children; earns precarious living by insurance, travelling on commission.

*Cornwall Road*.—Partly small tenements, 7s a week, and partly houses let out in floors, 4s 6d a week.

1. Young man, wife, two children; carver; money varies from 25s to 30s.

2. Young man, wife, no child; dyer; wages 25s.

3. Music tuner; good money; lives with mother.

*Devon Road.*—Houses, £24 to £30 a year.

1. Man earns about £2. 10s a week in large tailoring establishment in London, one son about 30s a week; wife and two daughters work at home, making trimmings for boys' sailor suits.

2. Tailor's cutter, £3 a week, also takes business at home; wife, no family.

3. Man in one firm thirty years; got out two years ago, and has had no regular work since. Sells a little on commission. Rent, £20 a year.

4. Man; packer; wholesale grocery warehouse. Drysalter's department, £2 a week; wife, one son.

## DESCRIPTION D.

*Bright Street.*—To describe the inhabitants of a street chiefly of the better class of working-people is not so easy as of the poorer. It is more difficult for a district visitor to get to know them. I fear that generally speaking the poorer class admit such hoping for temporal tangible gifts, &c. The others often are shy, fearing "remarks being passed," crediting them with like motives. It is a pleasant street, and in summer time fresh green trees and tidy little gardens, not to mention window gardens, line each side; our parish flower shows with useful inexpensive prizes are a great incentive to the latter. The trees make one think of our beautiful forest where their ancestors flourish so undisturbed. Several married policemen live here, and it is seldom you come across a house inhabited by more than one family. There are also many postmen—family men—who carry on little trades in their spare hours when "off duty," chiefly "boot-repairing," alias "cobbling." Those whom their wives call "city clerks" live here too, with real drawing-rooms in front,—bay windows filled with flowers and lace curtains, anti-macassars tied on every chair with coloured ribbon, and a centre-table with the children's prize school books ranged cross-ways all round. Three or four little "general" shops intersect the houses, and at the further end a few larger shops, greengrocers, pork and sausage, and a second-hand clothes establishment. A quietly conducted public-house is at the corner end. One house has been turned into a dispensary, presided over by a 6d Doctor, with a very long name and numbers of letters following it. Bright red blinds printed in white inform the residents of the hours of consultation and draw attention to the moderate charges, viz. "A Bottle of Medicine AND Advice for 6d."



## CHAPTER IV.

### INFLUX OF POPULATION.

*(Continued from Vol. I.)*

---

THE present chapter is a sequel to the chapter on Influx of Population which appeared in the first volume.

In that chapter an attempt was made to measure the rate of influx from the provinces to East London, and to determine its relation to the poverty and overcrowding of that district. As the inquiry proceeded it became evident that such a problem could not be satisfactorily handled with regard to one particular part of London alone; especially as the migration from the country to East London appeared from conclusive evidence to be much less in bulk than the flow to other parts of the metropolis and to present no special features which cannot be met with on a larger scale elsewhere. The necessity for a wider study was reinforced by the fact that few of the available statistics deal separately with any one part of the metropolis.

Again, one of the most striking facts about the process of migration is that it is not a mere transfer, but an interchange of population. There is, as was pointed out in the former chapter, an outflow of London natives into the provinces amounting to almost exactly half the volume of country migration to London, and in any study of the migration as a whole the outward as well as the inward stream must receive attention.

A broad inquiry, therefore, into the circulation of labour between London and the country needs to cover wider



ground than could be attempted in the first volume, and, moreover, the data for such an inquiry should not be obtained exclusively in London, but should be also sought in the rural districts which are the main sources of the influx.

The object of this chapter is to supply so far as possible the deficiencies noted above. The two chapters should be read in conjunction, for it is impossible to reproduce here the mass of figures embodied in the former volume. It is, however, worth while at the outset to recapitulate briefly the main conclusions of the earlier inquiry, which the broader investigation since made only tends generally to confirm. This is the more necessary since the theory there advanced of the economic character of the migration differs very materially from the current view of the relation of the influx to London poverty, which has lately been re-stated in a widely read work on social problems.

The chief conclusions reached in the first chapter were briefly these:—That the influx from the country to London is in the main an economic movement caused partly by the development of means of access, partly by the increasing relative advantages offered by town life; and among these relative advantages one of the most important is that much of necessary town-work cannot be efficiently done by town-bred people. There is thus a vacuum created and a consequent indraught from around. The countrymen drawn in are mainly the cream of the youth of the villages, travelling not so often vaguely in search of work as definitely to seek a known economic advantage. So far from finding their position in London hopeless, as is often supposed, they usually get the pick of its posts, recruiting especially outdoor trades which have some affinity with those to which they have been accustomed in the country, and in general all employments requiring special steadiness and imposing special responsibility. The

country immigrants do not to any considerable extent directly recruit the town unemployed, who are, in the main, the sediment deposited at the bottom of the scale, as the physique and power of application of a town population tend to deteriorate. The movement from the country is thus a movement downwards from above. Thus there is a very real and definite relation between influx and town poverty, though they are not directly connected, as cause and effect, in the manner usually supposed. They appear rather as joint effects of the same persistent cause—the deterioration of town labour, under the influence of town life. In speaking of influx in this connection, reference is made to the special flow of country labour to the towns, which is outside and in addition to the natural interchange of population between neighbouring districts, which is a feature of all healthy industrial communities.

*Distribution of the immigrants in London.*—The 1881 census showed that 343 out of every 1000 inhabitants of London were born in other parts of the United Kingdom.\* As might be expected the outsiders are not scattered evenly over its vast area. As a general rule they settle most in the newer and more sparsely peopled outlying parts, especially those which have been rapidly built over. On the whole, the growing parts of London are the chief receptacle of immigrants, while the overcrowded districts of the east and centre have the smallest proportion of countrymen. The exact distribution (in 1881) is shown in the map facing p. 474, compiled from an examination of the rough sheets of that year's census.† The map is an extension to the whole of London of the first map in the chapter

\* The following statements apply exclusively to provincial migration, and do not include immigrants from abroad.

† I have to express my hearty thanks to the Registrar-General for his courtesy in permitting me to continue the work of extracting the figures on which the map is based from the papers in Somerset House.

on influx in Vol. I., applying to East London only. So low, however, are the percentages of outsiders shown by most parts of the East End compared with many districts in the north, west and south, that it has been necessary to lower the scale of colouring considerably in order to include the whole of London in one map.

The absolute "low-water mark" of immigration for the whole of London is situated in Bethnal Green, being indeed almost coincident with the area which has lately been condemned by the County Council. In that district the proportion of country-born sinks to 125 in the 1000. The district is very crowded and insanitary, and includes a good many patches of black and blue in the poverty map. The infant mortality is said to be very much higher than that for London generally. It is some confirmation of the theory of the former chapter that here we should find the smallest proportion of outsiders, and the coincidence of so high an infant death-rate with the lowest proportion of countrymen lends some additional colour to the view that the Londoner tends to die out *relatively* to the countryman; or, to state the same thing in a different form, that the two elements of the population increase by excess of births over deaths at unequal rates.

Next to Bethnal Green come the contiguous East End districts, including parts of Whitechapel and St. George's-in-the-East, the whole forming an area of great poverty and overcrowding, and with less than 20 per cent. of country-born inhabitants.

Round this area as centre is grouped a ring of districts in which the proportion of countrymen lies between 20 and 30 per cent. This inner ring includes the remainder of Whitechapel and St. George's, Stepney, Mile End Old Town, Bow, South Hackney, Shoreditch, the greater part of Holborn, and the St. Botolph division of the city, whence it crosses the river and embraces the poorer parts of St. Saviour's and St. Olave's, Southwark, and the riverside district of Deptford. All this ring is above the average



in poverty and below the average in the provincial element of population.

A minor area of depression of the provincial element is the poor district centreing in Seven Dials, the percentage falling below 30 in the sub-districts of St. Anne's, Soho, and St. Giles's south.

Turning to the other end of the scale we find the high-water mark of the influx in Mayfair, where the proportion rises to 59. In the neighbouring districts of Kensington and Brompton, St. George's Hanover Square, Belgravia, and St. John's, Paddington, more than half the inhabitants are country-born.

Thus the general law is one of inverse ratio between the proportion of provincial immigrants and the poverty of the district, modified, of course, by local considerations, such as distance from the centre of London, and facility of access from country districts in which the labour market is glutted. The relative proportions of country-born inhabitants in the five great divisions of London is seen from the following summary of the figures given in the appendix volume, on which the map is based.

—	Population.	Percentage of Provincial born inhabitants.
West London .....	669,633	37·3
North London .....	719,485	44·4
Central London .....	282,238	30·4
South London .....	1,265,927	34·1
East London .....	879,200	24·2

From this it is seen that the North and West have more than their share of the influx; the proportion for South London is about the same as for the whole of the metropolis, and the East and Centre have less than their due complement of outsiders.

There is one district in London which seems at first sight to present an exception to the general law. The City of London is not only the oldest and most central part of the metropolis, but the one which is decreasing most



rapidly in population. Such a centre should, it might be thought, contain very few countrymen. On the contrary, however, the proportion of outsiders is here above the average and rises in one sub-district\* to 46 per cent. This is probably accounted for in part by the peculiar composition of the City resident population, which is largely made up of caretakers and shop assistants living on business premises—two classes which seem to number more than the average proportion of countrymen, perhaps because of the responsibility and steadiness required.

It must never be forgotten that a great part of the influx from the country is not included in our tables or map, because its destination is not the metropolitan area proper but the sub-metropolitan districts, such as Edmonton, West Ham and Croydon, outside the Registrar-General's boundary. This fringe of urban districts, amounting in population to nearly a million, grows at the rate of nearly 20,000 a year by migration from without and from within. Hence the total annual net gain of Greater London by migration is about 30,000 persons, of whom two-thirds settle in the outer ring.†

A special map was given in the first Volume showing the distribution of foreigners in the eastern district, where foreign immigration presents the most remarkable features. It has not been thought worth while to extend this map to the other parts of London, where there is not so much to note about the distribution of foreigners. By far the largest number from any one country are Germans, of whom there are many more men than women. Next, but at a very long distance, come the French. The Germans are everywhere, particularly in Islington, Marylebone, Kensington, St. Pancras, and Holborn. The French are chiefly congregated in the registration districts

\* Castle Baynard.

† The exact gain by migration of the outer ring in 10 years previous to 1881 was 198,887, and of the whole area of greater London for the same period 306,623.

of Marylebone, Paddington and Kensington. There is a colony of Italians in Holborn, of whom more than half are in the one sub-district of St. Andrew Eastern. For the distribution of foreigners, particularly Russians and Poles, in East London, reference should be made to Vol. I.

*The efflux from London.*—The outflow from London differs economically from the inflow in many important characteristics. In the first place the bulk of the migrants go much shorter distances, more than half (299,288 out of 584,000) settling in the counties of Surrey, Essex, Kent and Middlesex immediately contiguous to the metropolis. Much, therefore, of this movement cannot be classified as economic migration at all, if by “migration” we mean a movement of residence which involves a movement of work. A very large number merely move across the imaginary line separating the London of the Registrar-General from the parts of Greater London lying outside. The opening up of cheap communication between the centre and circumference of London has combined with the pressure of high rents and overcrowding to cause many workmen and clerks to migrate to the newer and cheaper districts on the margin, even at a great distance from their work, which is reached by means of the workmen’s trains. This process may continue until the difference of rental and expense of living is balanced by the cost of railway tickets.

The home counties, as a reference to the map facing p. 510, Vol. I., shows, are the great recruiting ground for London, but so great is the outward movement, that on the whole the more contiguous parts gain rather than lose by the exchange, as is seen from the following comparison:—

Natives of extra-metropolitan Middlesex living in metropolitan Middlesex (1881) .....	76,771
Natives of metropolitan Middlesex living in extra-metropolitan Middlesex .....	80,271
Gain of extra-metropolitan Middlesex by the exchange .....	3,500

The general law that the migrants from London move

shorter distances than the migrants into London holds good beyond the limits of the home counties. In Vol. I. (p. 510) there appeared a table showing the proportion of inhabitants of each ring of counties found in London. Repeating the calculation for natives of London found in each ring, we get the following comparison of results :—

Ring.	Average distance from London in miles.	INFLUX.	EFFLUX.
		No. of persons per 1000 of population of each ring living in London, 1881.	No. of natives of London living in each ring per 1000 of population of the ring, 1881.
1	23·8	166·0	142·3
2	52·5	121·4	42·5
3	90·9	61·2	17·7
4	126·0	32·0	9·8
5	175·7	16·2	8·5
6	236·9	24·9	6·5

It will be seen that the percentages in the “efflux” column fall off much more rapidly than those in the “influx” column as we recede from London.

It is clear that if we wish to analyze the efflux as an economic movement we must first subtract the migrants to the home counties where the economic features are hopelessly obscured by other considerations.\*

If we do this, and classify the remaining migrants according to the character of the district in which they settle, we find, as might be expected, that on the whole they prefer the large centres of population to the smaller towns and rural districts.

	Total population.	Number born in London.	Ditto per 1000 of population.
Towns over 100,000† .....	3,735,868	64,918	17·4
Ditto, 50,000 to 100,000† ...	1,717,196	24,079	14
Rural districts and urban districts under 50,000† ...	15,254,385	196,415	12·9

\* Through failure to make this subtraction, I published what I now think to be a misleading result as regards the distribution of Londoners in the provinces, in a paper on “Migration of Labour” in the Transactions of the Political Economy circle of the National Liberal Club, Vol. I.

† Exclusive of Middlesex, Surrey, Essex and Kent. The full figures on which this table is based are given on p. 472.



Considering the fact that labourers when migrating usually choose districts and occupations as nearly as possible akin to those which they leave, we should naturally have expected to find a much more marked difference between the proportions of Londoners who settle in the populous and the sparsely peopled districts respectively. But the fact is, that mixed up with the economic migration of wage-earners, there is a considerable volume of migrants living on fixed incomes, including many old or infirm persons in receipt of pensions and allowances; and these naturally choose the thinly peopled districts, which are usually the areas of low cost of living. Almost all the economic considerations which determine a flow of productive labour from one district to another are reversed in the case of this class of unproductive migrants.

A further analysis of the distribution of the migrants from London shows that seaports have, as might be expected, more than their due share of Londoners. In a few cases, moreover, a definite economic interchange can be traced, as between London and Northampton, which are both great centres of the boot-trade. Accordingly Northampton, considering its distance, contains nearly twice the normal proportion of Londoners. Beyond, however, a few facts of this kind, it seems impossible to go with any certainty. The attempt to classify the Londoners living in the provinces according to social grades and occupations, on the same plan as was followed with some success for the migrants into London, has proved an impossible task. The migrants are too scattered, and too small in number to be easily "sampled." In the case of the influx this is comparatively easy. The immigrants are found concentrated in one great centre; or if no other method avails, recourse can be had to the treasure-house of the memory of the oldest inhabitant of the dwindling villages. But to treat the outflow in the same way is quite another question.\*

\* I have to express my thanks to Miss E. L. Colebrook of Reading, who



We can however say with safety that the purely economic element in the outflow is far less prominent than in the inflow, that reasons of health and convenience play a much more important part; that in all probability the migrants contain a much larger proportion of married persons with families than the immigrants, and that their ages therefore fall to a large extent outside (both below and above) the limits within which those of the great bulk of immigrants are confined. This would furnish a complete explanation of the figures quoted on p. 506 of Vol. I., and there left unexplained, showing that there is a much larger proportion of children among the Londoners living in the provinces than among the countrymen living in London.

The statistics of the distribution of Londoners in the various counties and great towns of England and Wales are given on p. 472.

*The Sources of the Influx.*—If we transfer our attention to the rural districts, we find in the slow increase of their population or its actual decay the complementary phenomenon to the excessive growth of the towns. Not that, as a whole, the country can be said to be becoming rapidly depopulated, for Dr. Ogle has proved\* that the total rural population has been nearly stationary for thirty years; but the migration to the towns is attested by the fact that a rural area very seldom increases in population by an amount equal to the recorded excess of births over deaths, while in the case of such districts as the rural parts of Huntingdonshire, Norfolk, and Wiltshire, there is actually a considerable decrease, amounting to from 6 to 12 per cent. Here, then, and

has done all that was possible towards carrying out such an analysis so far as regards that district. Miss Colebrook has kindly furnished me with particulars of Londoners found in the Reading Union, and applying to the local Charity Organization Society. I have, however, come to the conclusion that to generalize from such narrow data, would be misleading.

\* Journal of Royal Statistical Society, June, 1889.

especially in the Eastern, Southern, and South-Western Counties, we have the great source of the influx into London.\*

When writing the first chapter on this subject I often felt the want of more information about the actual career of individual migrants and the change of condition which they have experienced by leaving the country for the towns. Accordingly I have endeavoured for the purpose of this paper to collect detailed information in certain groups of villages as to the career of former inhabitants who are now in London and other towns. The value of such information depends very largely on the degree to which we can be sure that the cases scheduled are fair samples of the whole. I have therefore always tried to obtain particulars regarding a large percentage of migrants from some one village in preference to a smaller percentage from a wider area. Details have thus been obtained of about five hundred individuals, the large majority having been born in a group of villages and small market towns in Hertfordshire and South Cambridgeshire. The following is an example of the way in which the sheets were filled up:—

Name.	Age at date of migration.	Birthplace.	Place to which he migrated.	Former employment.	Present employment.	Former wages.	Present wages.	Remarks.
A. B.	19	W	London.	Carpenter.	Railway porter.	—	22s	Went just after serving his apprenticeship. Sent for by a friend.
C. D.	22	X	London.	Bricklayer's labourer.	Railway porter.	9s	19s 6d	Wanted more wages.
E. F.	18	Y	Stratford.	Whitesmith.	Engine cleaner.	—	£1	Went with employer.
G. H.	20	Z	London.*	Wheelwright.	Wheelwright.	10s	25s	Went to look for work. No work here.
I. J.	27	Z	London.	Farm labourer.	Gardener.	9s	20s	Went on promise of a situation. Brother already in London.

\* Went to a neighbouring town first.

\* Compare the map facing p. 510, Vol. I. of this book, and the Statistics on p. 558, Vol. I.

Of course it has not been possible to fill all the columns in all cases.

In this way statistical results of some value have been arrived at, which give some insight into the conditions of the problem. As, however, figures by themselves are somewhat dry and meaningless, we shall gain the best idea of the process of migration by first taking a concrete case.

Let us, then, transfer ourselves to a village in the centre of a purely agricultural district in the Eastern Counties, which are the chief feeders of London: a village with a long, straggling, dead-alive street, and a general feeling in the air of desertion and decay. It is in the heart of what Trade Unionists would call the "blackleg" district, whence any number of labourers can be imported on an emergency to fill the places of London strikers. Its population in 1871 was 1000; in 1881, 900; now, probably, there are hardly more than 800 inhabitants; and they are growing old, for all the young ones go. "We shall soon be all old men," says the village blacksmith mournfully, "and yet what is the use of the lads staying here? There is nothing to do; they had better seek their luck elsewhere." The speaker himself has three sons already settled in London, and prospering well. When we go back to our statistics and look out the Ages Returns in the Census volume, we find that our informant is right, for the proportion of young men from twenty to twenty-five in the district is one-third too few, and of men over sixty twice too great, as compared with the whole country. But to return to the village forge. The other gossips confirm the blacksmith's tale in general terms, but are reluctant to enter into particulars. "You see, sir," says one, "the men about here don't hold with this inquiry." And then we find that our inquiries are supposed to be directed towards hunting up the lads who have left for London, and compelling them to contribute to the support of their parents who come upon the rates. The schoolmaster, however,



who has once taught in a London school, is superior to these prejudices, and from him we learn a good deal of the life history of the village. A few years ago there was some quarrying, which employed a good many of the inhabitants, but now it is worked out. Many of the farmers are said to be bankrupt, and wages are 11s in summer, and 10s in winter, and there is talk of an Agricultural Labourers' Union, but it is only whisper at present, and that of the vaguest kind.

In the school, all the brightest boys are living in the expectation of going up to town. Most of them have relations there already. At home there is no opening, and it is deadly dull. Hard by dwells a labourer, with a family of twelve. Six are in London already, and the rest will follow when old enough. Across the road there used to live a family of nine. All the sons and daughters are now gone; six to London, one to a neighbouring village. It is the same in all the villages round: "We cannot tell what is to become of the country-side," they say; "even now in hay harvest there is a scarcity of labour." But the farmers will not—perhaps as things are, they cannot—raise the customary wage; and all agree that the rising generation are right to go elsewhere.

It has been found possible to trace out the career of one of these migrants, and his life history may give us a better idea than we could gain in any other way of the mode in which town and country are knit together.\*

At the end of last century a sawyer, named Potton, lived with his family in the village of Little Guilden. It was not then so small a village as now, for the folk of Little Guilden were not then dependent entirely on the land. Each housewife plaited straw at her cottage door, and the sound of the loom and the spinning wheel had not yet vanished from the home. At that time, too, steam saw-mills were unknown, and pit sawing was a village industry.

\* In what follows names of persons and places have been altered.



Now all that is changed: timber is imported or transported direct to the towns and there sawn by steam power. The village sawyers have in many cases followed their work, so that we are told that a large proportion of London sawyers at the present day hail from the rural districts. These changes, however, have happened since Mr. Potton's time, and he lived and died in his native village. Not so his sons. There were five in all, and all began life as village carpenters, but the quiet monotony did not long content them. It was in the first decade of the present century that the eldest went up to try his fortune in London, and settled down as a carpenter or cabinet-maker in the parish of St. Luke's, Shoreditch, the very heart of the London cabinet-making trade. So far from finding his position hopeless, as required by the popular theory, he was sufficiently satisfied to induce first one brother, then another, to join him, so that we find that, one by one, the whole family of brothers transported themselves to Shoreditch.

The chief interest, however, to us in their careers lies in the influence they afterwards exercised on the stream of migration from their native village. For Mr. Potton, senior, had a nephew of the name of Jarman, born and bred in the same quiet village, where, till the age of thirty-two, he tilled the soil for the wage of 8s a week. One day, however, about the middle of the century, he turned his back on Little Guilden, with 3s 6d in his pocket, and tramped to London, sleeping in outhouses on the way. But he no longer had to wander aimlessly through the great city searching for work, for his cousins had pioneered the road. After two or three days' search he found out his eldest cousin and was received into his house in Shoreditch. Once there, a post was very soon found—not as a carpenter (of course a labourer from the country has seldom any opportunity of entering a skilled trade in London)—but in a town employment

as nearly as might be akin to that he formerly pursued, viz. in the horse-keeping department of Pickford's, the great carriers. Here John Jarman was at once taken on, at the moderate wage of a guinea, not quite three times the earnings he made at home; and now his fortune was made. It is needless to follow him through all his changes, first to the Great Northern Railway at King's Cross, and lastly to their centre, near the East India Docks. We find him rising to the comfortable position of managing foreman, with forty or fifty men under him; still in the same kind of work as at Pickford's, but higher up the scale, and in a little house and garden at Blackwall, a position of comfort which enabled him to indulge his feeling of contempt for cockneydom in general. For, in the first place, he had a profound belief in the superiority of country labour; in the second place, he had continually to fill up vacancies among the fifty men whom he commanded; and in the third place, like his uncle, he had nephews and friends in Little Guilden. So, from this time, Mr. Jarman's home in Poplar became a recognized centre to which flocked the youth of Little Guilden. Some he could take on himself; others he found berths for elsewhere. One who had been a village coal-porter was provided with a post as horse-keeper (exactly as his uncle had been provided ten years before), and afterwards exchanged the position for that of signal-man at one of the docks. Others had places found for them in shops, or in the Great Northern service; and one enlisted in the army.

All these were lads of fifteen or sixteen years of age—earning about half-a-crown a week in the fields at Little Guilden, but immediately securing wages varying from 10s to 19s on their arrival in town. And, as soon as the good man's nephews fairly struck root and became settled in London, we find them beginning to bring up brothers and cousins of their own. The shop-boy—now the keeper

of a thriving general shop in Limehouse—received a visit from a younger brother from the country whom he first employed in his shop and then helped to emigrate. We find another lad, who had already tried his luck as a “gyp” at Cambridge, spending a holiday in town with his brother (now himself a foreman on the Great Northern) and employing the time in looking out for a job on the railway. The boy was successful in getting a place as messenger at 16s a week—probably six times what he could have earned in his native fields—and thence transferred himself to the Metropolitan Police force, where he doubtless shows his country steadiness, and is very likely now bringing up country nephews in his turn.

At last, about three years ago, Mr. John Jarman, now an old man, fell a victim to rheumatism and retired with a comfortable pension. With country shrewdness, he saw that though wages may be higher in London than elsewhere, a fixed income goes furthest in a region of low prices. There were yet friends and relatives in Little Guilden, and thither he has returned to pass his remaining years, and there he will talk at length of his deeds of “home colonization,” and expatiate on the superiority of the countryman to the cockney. But before leaving London, he took care to settle one of his nephews on his throne, where he again has the same opportunity, of keeping the little world of Little Guilden informed of any advantageous openings that occur in the neighbourhood of the Poplar establishment of the Great Northern Company.

Doubtless cases of a similar kind could be multiplied,—where a country nucleus once established in any particular district in London, grows in geometric ratio by the importation of friends and relations. We find one village sending the flower of its youth to Finsbury, another to Hornsey, a third to a big establishment in Cheapside. So, if an employer is Welsh, we may find a Welsh colony near his works; if from Devon, a colony of Devonshire men



Probably one of the most powerful and efficient migration agencies is that supplied by the letters written home by the country girl settled in domestic service in the great town. But it is needless to labour the argument. The life history here traced offers at once a striking picture and a fair sample of the mode in which the influx from the country takes place. How unlike the notion of the author of a book on "Town Slums," who tells us that "the countryman has ever the idea that the great centres of labour are always the best field for work, *whereas the opposite is almost invariably the case.*"

Of 202 cases of migration which I have been able definitely to track, 102, or almost exactly one-half, showed that the migrant had definitely secured or was practically sure of a place in town before leaving the country. He went to join friends, or in response to an advertisement, or to a post secured beforehand. Of the remaining 100, a very large number were doubtless pretty sure at the outset of being able to better themselves.

Let us consider what inferences are to be drawn from the example just given. From the country point of view the main causes of the movement may be summed up as the narrowing of the field of employment and the opening up of means of communication.

The loss of rural industries has thrown the labourer on the land for support, and closed the door to women's employment, and the long continued depression of agriculture has compelled the bankrupt farmer to economize by reducing the amount of labour employed. Thus the number of hired labourers employed per acre on the larger farms in Huntingdonshire has decreased 17 per cent. in ten years.

But more potent, perhaps, than any of these causes has been the change wrought by the school, the railway, and the penny post. In school the dormant intelligence of the rising Hodge is awakened, and his ideas widened. A



country minister once complained to me that, wherever he went, he only filled his chapel and school to empty them again by the migration of his flock to the towns. Thither, and especially to London, the eyes of all the more energetic youth are turned.

And while the eyes of the villagers are becoming opened to the existence of a market for their labour where it will command a good deal more than the customary 10s or 11s in Little Guilden, the penny post serves to keep them in touch with what is going on in town and with the career of their friends and relatives who have gone before, and who serve as outposts to keep them informed of the possible openings which they may fill. And the railway, which penetrates into the inmost recesses of the rural counties, provides not only a means of direct access to large centres but in many cases a series of easy stepping stones. A lad first finds employment at the station of Little Chipping and gradually works his way up to a London platform.

From the point of view of the town there are two great causes of the movement of labour—equally important and equally necessary. London is attractive to the countryman, and London offers openings to the countryman.

It need hardly be said that its attractiveness is not purely economic—at least, in the narrowest sense of the term. The imaginary gold which paves its streets, not only attracts by its value, but dazzles by its glitter. Many, again, want to exchange the highly developed public opinion of the sparsely peopled village for the crowded loneliness of the great centre. So that the ne'er-do-weels of the village are drawn to the towns as well as the energetic—the dregs of the country as well as the cream. Sometimes we come across migrants whom it is difficult to classify in either category, because they partake of the character of both. Such is the Cambridgeshire villager who, in slack times, tramps to London, where he makes

more money by singing in the streets than he could earn by farm labour in the country.

But, on the whole, the movement is an economic one, in search of a known and real economic advantage. The difference in wages-level between London and the villages of the home-counties is very great, even in the same trades. Cost of living is of course higher too ; but this fact modifies the argument only very slightly. The various economic advantages of London appeal with very different degrees of force to the countryman, and contribute in very different measure to the migration. To take an extreme example, if we were endeavouring to measure the degree to which migration is promoted by the attractiveness of model workmen's dwellings, we should clearly attribute a more stimulating effect on the rural imagination to the artificial lowering of rent than to the salutary enforcement of beneficial regulations—say, that all inhabitants should be vaccinated. Or, to take a case less extreme, and more important for our purposes, I have little doubt that high money wage appeals more than low cost of living. It may be too sweeping to assert, as a law of migration, that the current will flow from centres of low wage and low cost of living to those of high wage and high cost of living ; but there would be an element of truth in such a law, at least so far as active wage-earning labour is concerned.

The high money wage in London is an obvious concrete inducement against which high cost of living weighs lightly. The extra cost is largely made up of little items which are not foreseen, small payments for services which can be had gratis at home ; or of expenses which cannot be incurred in the country, because the advantages they represent cannot be obtained there at all. The cost of all this the immigrant will find out presently, as well as the very real extra cost of rent, but it does not appeal to him yet.

Thus, besides higher real wages, we may set down as a

second cause of attraction of London, the still higher nominal wages due to high cost of living. On the other hand, the economic tendency is reversed in the case of all who live on a fixed income, as was illustrated by the later movements of Mr. Jarman. Perhaps we may say that there is a set of productive labour towards centres of high wage and high cost of living, and of unproductive consumers towards districts of low wage and low price.

Another point is worth alluding to. London and the great towns are the paradise of boys' labour. One of the causes of the unwillingness of parents in London to apprentice their sons for long periods is the temptation of the high—perhaps too high—immediate wages which they can earn as odd boys. But in the country, where rates of wage are still largely customary, the wages of boys and young men are considerably lower than those of adults, even for the same work. I have seen two ploughs being driven in the same field, with apparently equal skill, by a man and a youth who were receiving very different rates of pay. The more energetic of the rising generation chafe under the inequality, and while their minds have not risen to the possibility of changing that or any other custom at home, they listen greedily to the descriptions of London, where things are so different. London knows nothing of customary wages, at all events as between man and boy, but pays strictly for service performed.

The relatively high wages which can be earned by boys and young men in London is thus another cause of influx, and to this is to be added the greater opportunity of adding to the family income by women's work. The descendants of the women who used to ply the now dying trade of plaiting at the cottage door may now, perhaps, be pasting labels on Crosse & Blackwell's jam-pots, or packing lucifer matches for Bryant & May. The earnings of the wives and daughters of the dockers were a great and not fully recognized factor in the dockers' victory of 1889. The difference



of wage between the country and the town would seem still greater if we took the family instead of the individual as our unit.

As allusion has here been made to women's work, this may be the most convenient place to note the great difficulty of obtaining satisfactory statistics on the question of female migration. We know that, as a whole, it is greater in volume than that of men,—that is to say, on any given day more women than men are living outside the district of their birth. Of course this is largely due to the demand for domestic servants, who, as noted above, become in turn centres for promoting fresh migration. But there is also a large non-economic element, arising out of the fact that a woman, on marrying, is more likely to live in the district where her husband previously resided than *vice versâ*. This fact is enough to make the interpretation of the statistics of female migration very difficult.

Returning to the statistics of migration collected in the country districts, we find that the ages of the migrants scheduled confirm, in a marked degree, the statements with regard to age made in the former chapter, 80 per cent. being between 15 and 25 years old.\*

To exhibit the changes of occupation, the employments have been divided into various groups, against each of which is inserted the number of migrants employed in that occupation, both before and after migration. As the occupations were not furnished in every case it has been necessary, in order to make the columns comparable, to reduce the column to a standard total of 1000 migrants.

\* Ages of 295 migrants from villages, &c., to towns (especially to London) at the date of migration:—

Under 15	...	...	...	16
„ 15—25	...	...	...	235
„ 25—30	...	...	...	27
Over 30	...	...	...	17



*Occupations of 1000 Village Migrants before and after migration.\**

		Before.	After.
A. Outdoor Labour ...	Labourer .....	640	169
	Gardener .....	17	52
	Railway worker .....	5	92
	Carman or Driver .....	19	68
	Brewery, Contractor's Yard, &c. ....	5	9
	Porter or Errand Boy.....	9	31
B. Service .....	Man-servant or Groom .....	16	75
	Domestic Servant .....	42	83
C. Public Service .....	Policeman, &c. ....	—	34
	Soldier or Sailor.....	—	108
	Postman .....	—	3
D. Building Trades ...	Carpenter and Timber Trades.....	38	40
	Bricklayer and Mason .....	9	3
	Painter .....	36	21
	Shoemaker .....	11	12
E. Other skilled occupations .....	Tailor and Dressmaker .....	14	12
	Miller .....	7	—
	Wheelwright and Smith .....	28	24
	Tanner, Saddler, &c. ....	16	13
	Engineer and gun factory.....	—	9
	Soap, Gas, Chemical and other Works	—	21
	Shopkeeper and Assistant.....	71	81
F. Retail Dealers .....	Publican and Restaurant keeper and Assistant .....	7	13
	Pawnbroker and Assistant.....	—	3
	Clerk .....	7	15
G. Miscellaneous .....	Teacher, Preacher, &c. ....	3	9
		1000	1000

As a rule skilled artisans work in London at the same trade as in the country, and there are very few cases of country labourers becoming skilled artisans in the towns. Indeed, there are only six such cases among the 500 scheduled, two becoming carpenters, one a wheelwright, and two entering the engineering trades. Of these one was only a boy of fifteen at the date of migration, and, probably, if full particulars respecting the other cases were forthcoming, some special circumstances would be found explaining the apparent exceptions to the almost universal rule. Labourers usually choose in the towns some outdoor occupation included in group A of the above table. Where they go outside the limits of that group it is either to take

\* The great majority, but not all, of these migrants moved up to London.

service as a soldier, sailor, policeman, groom, or manservant, or to some form of retail dealing. A few have found their way into gas and chemical works, but probably their occupation there is heavy labourers' work. There is a fair number of skilled artisans among the migrants, but a slightly smaller number are scheduled as working at such trades after than before migration (155 against 159). This suggests (what from independent evidence we know to be true) that the skilled artisan finds his way to London *after* serving his time in the small country towns. The decay of apprenticeship has gone further in the great centres of population, where machinery and division of labour have had the greatest scope to work out their full effects, than in the rural districts where old-world customs and methods still survive. While production is stimulated as a whole, it becomes increasingly difficult in London to get an all-round man in trades which have been largely affected by modern changes. Thus in many trades country immigrants are preferred for posts of foremen. Again, in the building trades, London masters are less and less willing to take the trouble of teaching apprentices, but prefer to take on men who have served their apprenticeship elsewhere. Almost all branches of the building trades—carpenters and joiners, masons and bricklayers, and plumbers—are overrun by country labour. There are villages and country towns which may be described as breeding grounds for journeymen for the great cities. There is little doubt that the relatively high wages which boys can pick up in London by work which will end in a few years in a *cul-de-sac*, leaving them without knowledge of a trade, is not only, as we have seen above, a direct cause of attraction to countrymen, but also, by discouraging apprenticeship in London, opens a wide door for the influx of full-blown artisans from the little country towns.

As regards the Londoners by birth, there is little to add to the proof given in the first volume that the occupations

which show an excess of London natives chiefly consist of casual and irregular employments, requiring no exceptional steadiness or strength. But a considerable mass of evidence has since been accumulated in further confirmation of the theory that the major part of London poverty and distress is home-made, and not imported from outside.

In the former chapter statistics were given from two centres of the Charity Organization Society tending to show that the bulk of applicants for relief in London are London born. The figures, though suggestive, were too partial to be conclusive, and as the society is the most widely reaching organization dealing systematically with cases of distress (other than those which come within the poor law), it has been thought advisable to obtain more complete statistics and to carry the analysis further than was attempted before. I have to thank the secretary of the society and the committees of fourteen centres in various parts of London who have kindly consented to take down birthplace and length of residence in London of all their applicants, for a period of nearly a year. The result confirms my previous conclusion.

The full figures are given on p. 472.

The general result reduced to terms of 1000 applications\* is given below ; the corresponding proportion for the whole adult population of London is added for comparison :—

—	Total.	Born in London.	Born outside London. Resident in London.				
			1	2	3	4	5
			Under 1 year.	1-5.	5-10.	10-20.	20 and upwards.
Charity Organization Society cases.	1,000	596	32	64	74	108	126
Adult population generally .....	1,000	460	—	—	—	—	—

\* A correction has been applied in order to make the figures representative of the whole of London equally. Otherwise, since South London is over-represented in the returns in proportion to its population, the result would be incorrect.



Thus in round figures 60 per cent. of this class are London born.

In these figures a certain set of cases known to the Charity Organization Society as "Homeless cases" have been excluded. They are discussed in a separate chapter of this volume, and seem to form a special class by themselves. It will be noticed that with this exception a very small number (only about 3 per cent. of the whole number of applicants) had come in from the country within a year; while more than three-quarters of the country-born applicants had lived more than five years in London before sinking into want. All this evidence confirms the view that the country immigrant has very little difficulty in finding work in London.

I have further taken and analyzed most of the cases (where the particulars were available), included in column 2, *i.e.* those immigrants who may reasonably be said to have failed at once in their object in coming to London. One striking fact about them is their *age*. The vast majority of immigrants from the country come up to town between the age of 15 and 25. Of the immediate failures, however, 83 per cent. are over 25, a fact which suggests that migration becomes very risky from an economic point of view outside the limits named. The objects alleged by the "failures" for their migration to town, may be classified as follows:—

	Per cent.
To look for work .....	48
To a situation previously found (or supposed to be found)	20
To hospital or for medical relief .....	12*
From abroad .....	4
To emigrate .....	4
Non-industrial (to join relatives, family reasons, reasons of health, &c.) .....	12
	<hr/> 100

\* Several of these applied merely for a letter to a hospital, so that they should perhaps be excluded from the "failures" since they achieved their object in coming to town, being in fact attracted by the prospect of medical relief. If so, the total of failures is still further reduced.



Another point about the "failures" is the enormous preponderance of cases of poverty through habit over cases of poverty through circumstance; and the small number among them of manual labourers. The following *précis* of all such cases dealt with during six months by one committee is given as a specimen:—

Occupation.	Remarks.
1 Manservant .....	Dismissed from last post for laziness. Married six weeks later while out of work.
2 Manservant .....	Testimonials appeared to be forged. Situation found for him, but immediately lost through drink.
3 Widow (Cook) ...	Situation found. Drank, and bolted without paying rent.
4 Servant .....	Gave false address. (Refused.)
5 Waiter .....	Dismissed from last two places for bad conduct; "throwing chairs about and breaking them."
6 Housemaid.....	Situation found. Went to it drunk, and had to be fetched away.
7 Box maker.....	Says he lost his work through his men going on strike in Glasgow. (Refused.)
8 Widow.....	} Illness (medical relief).
9 Blacksmith.....	
10 Charwoman ...	

The so-called "homeless cases" omitted from this summary are of a somewhat different kind. They are mostly unmarried men, many of them on their way elsewhere, who finding their means exhausted either through improvidence, excess, or robbery, apply for temporary relief while stranded in London. They are in fact nearer to the tramp in characteristics than to the ordinary cases of distress. As will be seen from a reference to the figures for St. James, Soho, on p. 472, they are mostly countrymen who have only just entered London. Such a result is to be expected. In all great cities there is a certain nomad population of habitual wanderers, the gipsies of our modern civilization, who crowd our casual wards and philanthropic shelters, quite distinct from the "poor" and "very poor" of the classification adopted in this book, with whom they

are confounded by superficial observers.\* This tribe of wanderers—the flotsam and jetsam of our industrial storms—attract an amount of popular attention quite out of proportion to their numbers. They are the men who sleep in the summer nights in the parks or on the embankment. The majority of those in any one district on any given day are unlikely to be natives of that district, for with them each town or village is merely a temporary camping ground on their ceaseless wanderings to and fro. Thus it should cause no surprise to find that most of those who apply for relief in London declare themselves to have been country born, and it is a strange perversion of reasoning to build on such a fact any inferences as to the general relation of the stream of country immigrants of which they are in no degree a type to the mass of city poverty of which they are by no means a fair sample.

A word is necessary in conclusion on the interpretation of our results. Free circulation of labour is the very life-blood of a modern industrial community. Wherever it stops, there is industrial disease. There is indeed movement which is healthy and movement which is unwholesome. The floating to and fro of the army of tramps and homeless wanderers is neither a cause nor a symptom of a sound state of the labour market. But the movement that represents real economic mobility, the power of ready transference of labour to new fields where it is in demand, is often the only safeguard a labourer possesses amid the many and complex dislocations of modern industry.

In every district there are round men confined in square holes. Often their only chance of finding the hole into which they can fit is to move elsewhere, and every time a man is fitted into the right hole a benefit is conferred on

\* *E.g.* in "In Darkest England," p. 21, where they are confused with Class A, and p. 129 where they are assumed to be identical with the unemployed.

the community. In the language of political economists, the process of equalizing the advantages of various districts always increases the total sum of utility. Moreover, the act of migration may itself help to evolve new productive energy. For men whose energies would have remained half-developed so long as they stayed amid the familiar associations and surroundings of home, the mere contact with a new and unfamiliar environment may often furnish the stimulus needful to call out their latent powers. They are compelled to take stock of their economic position, and this is often the first step to improving it.

Doubtless it is the best men in each district to whom the attractions of other fields of work appeal most strongly. And thus wherever we go we find as a rule that those born elsewhere supply the more energetic element of the population. But the overwhelming superiority of the countrymen in London requires much more to explain it completely than the mere operation of this process of natural selection; and it is here that the unhealthy factor in the influx enters. Besides the general economic causes of labour circulation, there is a special attractive force exercised by the great towns,—a force dependent for its strength on the difference of sanitary level between town and country. Fortunately this cause is diminishing, and will probably decrease still further in the immediate future. Death-rates in town and country, though still far from identical, are gradually tending towards equality with the advance of sanitary science. This and every other change which is an index of an improvement in the health and vigour of the Londoner,—every change that makes London labour more competent to form a self-sufficing community for the performance of work essential to the life of a great city, must lessen the differential advantage which the countryman at present enjoys, and which from the London point of view furnishes the chief motive power of the influx of population.



*Birthplaces of applicants for relief from the Charity Organization Society at various centres in London (1889-90\*).*

—	Total appli- cants.	Born in London	Born outside London. Resident in London.				
			Under 1 year.	1—5 yrs.	5—10.	10—20.	20 and upwds.
South London.							
Battersea .....	429	214	19	32	51	62	51
Wandsworth .....	60	26	2	6	10	11	5
Sydenham .....	53	24	0	2	6	9	12
Southwark .....	200	99	(not	kept)	—	—	—
Lambeth .....	209	113	9	11	13	20	43
Greenwich .....	210	132	7	19	17	25	10
Camberwell .....	401	267	11	23	32	24	44
Brixton .....	85	33	4	12	13	16	7
North London.							
N. St. Pancras.....	201	114	3	16	12	20	36
S. St. Pancras .....	205	109	10	10	7	18	50
Holborn .....	126	69	8	9	4	13	23
East London.							
Hackney .....	126	70	3	8	7	21	17
St. George's, E.†.....	357	254	—	(not	kept)	—	—
Mile End†.....	336	232	—	(not	kept)	—	—
Central London.							
St. James's, Soho,† and West Strand	346	112	132	29	27	24	22

*Table showing the number and proportion of London born persons residing in the large towns of England and Wales, 1881.*

—	Population.	No. born in London.	Do. per 1000 of Population.
Cheshire.			
Stockport .....	59,553	411	6·90
Birkenhead.....	84,006	1,206	14·35
Derbyshire.			
Derby .....	81,168	1,373	16·91
Devonshire.			
Plymouth .....	73,794	1,593	21·58
Durham.			
Gateshead .....	65,803	551	8·37
South Shields .....	56,875	729	12·81
Sunderland.....	116,548	1,403	12·03
Essex.			
West Ham .....	128,953	38,478	298·38

\* In some cases the figures have only been taken for part of the year.

† 1888-9.

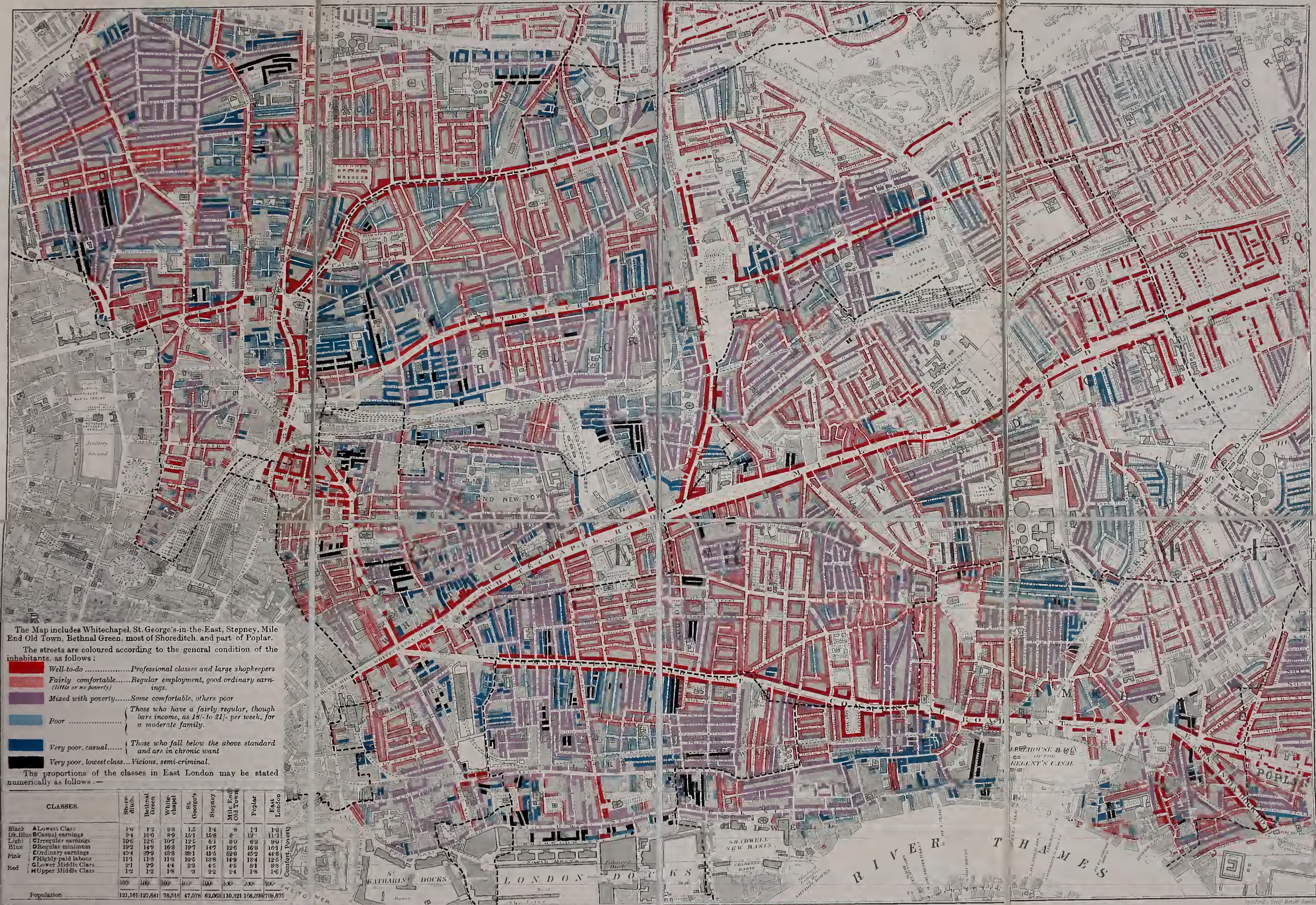
‡ Includes the "Homeless cases." See p. 350.



	Population.	No. born in London.	Do. per 1000 of Population.
Gloucestershire.			
Bristol.....	206,874	4,869	23·53
Hants.			
Portsmouth .....	127,989	6,984	54·56
Southampton .....	60,051	2,473	41·18
Lancashire.			
Blackburn .....	104,014	370	3·55
Bolton .....	105,414	498	4·72
Burnley .....	58,751	231	3·93
Bury .....	52,213	206	3·94
Liverpool .....	552,508	7,298	13·20
Manchester.....	341,414	4,462	13·06
Oldham .....	111,343	455	4·08
Preston .....	96,537	494	5·11
Rochdale.....	61,866	304	4·41
St. Helen's .....	57,403	220	3·83
Salford .....	176,235	1,988	11·28
Leicestershire.			
Leicester .....	122,376	2,061	16·84
Norfolk.			
Norwich .....	87,842	2,063	23·48
Northamptonshire.			
Northampton .....	51,881	1,741	33·55
Northumberland.			
Newcastle-on-Tyne .....	145,359	1,992	13·70
Nottinghamshire.			
Nottingham .....	186,575	2,806	15·03
Somersetshire.			
Bath .....	51,814	1,870	36·09
Staffordshire.			
Walsall .....	58,795	528	8·98
West Bromwich.....	56,295	309	5·48
Wolverhampton .....	75,766	791	10·44
Suffolk.			
Ipswich .....	50,546	1,824	36·08
Surrey.			
Croydon .....	78,953	18,219	230·75
Sussex.			
Brighton .....	107,546	11,361	105·63
Warwickshire.			
Aston Manor .....	53,842	1,142	21·21
Birmingham .....	400,774	7,941	19·81
Yorkshire.			
Bradford .....	183,032	1,451	7·92
Halifax .....	73,630	532	7·22
Huddersfield .....	81,841	355	4·33
Kingston-on-Hull .....	154,240	2,830	18·34
Leeds .....	309,119	3,227	10·43
Middlesbrough .....	55,934	760	13·58
Sheffield .....	284,508	2,922	10·27
Wales.			
Glamorgan.			
Cardiff.....	82,761	1,468	17·73
Swansea .....	65,597	787	11·99
Ystradyfodwg.....	55,632	118	2·12







The Map includes Whitechapel, St. George's-in-the-East, Stepney, Mile End Old Town, Bethnal Green, most of Shoreditch, and part of Poplar.

The streets are coloured according to the general condition of the inhabitants, as follows:

- Well-to-do ..... Professional classes and large shopkeepers
- Fairly comfortable.....Regular employment, good ordinary earnings.
- Mixed with poverty.....Some comfortable, others poor
- Poor ..... Those who have a fairly regular, though bare income, as 18/- to 21/- per week, for a moderate family.
- Very poor, casual..... Those who fall below the above standard and are in chronic want
- Very poor, lowest class... Vicious, semi-criminal.

The proportions of the classes in East London may be stated numerically as follows:-

CLASSES.	Shoreditch.	Bethnal Green.	Whitechapel.	St. George's.	Stepney.	Mile End Old Town.	Poplar.	East London.
Black A Lowest Class	10	12	8	15	14	8	11	13
Dark Blue B Casual earnings	94	160	89	151	158	13	13	113
Light Blue C Irregular earnings	106	126	107	125	61	60	62	90
Blue D Regular minimum	192	149	163	197	147	126	168	161
Pink E Ordinary earnings	454	394	458	281	415	620	452	448
Pink F Fairly paid labour	111	113	113	105	129	143	125	134
Red G Lower Middle Class	21	29	44	23	45	45	81	83
Red H Upper Middle Class	12	12	18	3	22	24	18	16
Population	121,181	127,541	78,518	47,578	62,068	110,321	166,398	708,875

Graphically the proportions of the classes may be represented thus:







PART IV.—LONDON CHILDREN.





## CHAPTER I.

### CLASSIFICATION OF SCHOOLS AND CHILDREN.

---

IN describing the streets and various portions of London we have drawn upon many sources of information, but it must be borne in mind that the classification of the people rests in effect upon what the School Board attendance officers have told us of the homes and parents of the children in elementary schools. It has therefore seemed desirable to check the results thus obtained by looking at the same facts from the point of view of the teachers in the schools, who, though lacking some means of information open to the attendance officers as to the parents and homes, have a much more intimate knowledge of the children themselves. Moreover, from the regularity or irregularity of attendance, the condition in which the children come to school, the demands for remission of fees, and in many other ways, the teachers can, and usually do, acquire a very considerable knowledge of the parents, and a fair idea of the character of the home.

The detailed statistics of some special schools given at the end of Chapter II. will show how rich a mine of knowledge is thus opened up. In London, where the attendance organization is very complete, we can touch the whole subject either through the outdoor visitor, or through the indoor teachers, and each plan has its advantages. Whichever is chosen, the other may be used to add to or test the results obtained, and it is in this supplementary

fashion that the information gathered from the masters and mistresses of schools in London is here used.

With regard to Board schools, the method adopted has been to classify the schools in each district, to choose specimens for thorough examination, and to deal with the others in a more general way, but so as in every case to obtain an estimate of the percentage of each class of children found in each school. For the success with which this has been accomplished Miss Tabor and I have to thank the School Board for their co-operation, and the masters and mistresses, upon whose patience and spare hours we have seriously trenched. With the voluntary schools it has not been possible to be equally systematic; but a general classification of the children taught in them has been made, which is probably fairly correct, and we are grateful for the assistance we have received to this end, and for the kindness Miss Tabor received when visiting the selected schools.

In addition Mr. Llewellyn Smith and Miss Collet furnish an account of the opportunities for education above the elementary level and the relation that the one system bears to the other.

The classification adopted for the Board schools is as follows, corresponding to the class of children taught in them:—

		Grades of Elementary Schools.
I.—Accommodating the “poor” and “very poor,” with a sprinkling of the lowest semi-criminal class . . . .		<i>Lower.</i>
II.—Accommodating the “poor” with but slight admixture of very poor . . . . .	}	<i>Middle.</i>
III.—Accommodating the “poor” and comfortably off together . .		
IV.—Accommodating the comfortably off with but few poor . .	}	<i>Upper.</i>
V.—Accommodating the comfortably off and some fairly well-to-do . . . . .		
VI.—Accommodating those who are fairly well-to-do only . . .		

The total number of children on the books of the Board schools was, in 1890, 441,609, and these are found to be divided about as follows:—

*Table I.—Classification of the Children taught in London Board Schools.*

Class	Number of Schools.	A.		B.		C.		D.		E.		F and above.		Total.	
		Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.
	99	4,234	3·9	30,392	27·6	36,765	33·4	5,214	22·9	11,597	10·5	1,852	1·7	110,054	100·0
II	68	1,564	2·2	11,366	15·9	19,210	26·9	20,685	28·9	14,871	20·8	3,588	5·3	71,284	100·0
III	106	1,202	0·9	13,948	10·8	27,682	21·4	37,766	29·1	37,029	28·6	11,973	9·2	129,600	100·0
IV	59	151	0·2	3,214	5·0	7,459	11·6	10,423	16·2	29,407	45·7	13,751	21·3	64,405	100·0
V	48	106	0·2	1,734	2·9	4,307	7·2	7,404	12·3	24,154	40·0	22,486	37·4	60,191	100·0
VI	8	9	0·1	16	0·3	163	2·7	215	3·5	555	9·1	5,117	84·3	6,075	100·0
—	388	7,266	1·6	60,670	13·7	95,586	21·6	101,707	23·2	117,613	26·6	58,767	13·3	441,609	100·0

It will be observed that there is not one of these six classes of schools that does not include some samples of each of the six classes of children.



On the books of the voluntary elementary schools we find 207,942 children in 591 schools. Our information as to these covers only 59,274 children in 148 schools and is, perhaps, too slight a basis for the table given below.

*Table II.—Classification of the Children taught in Voluntary Elementary Schools.*

Class.	Number of Schools.	A.		B.		C and D.		E.		F and above.		Total.	
		Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.	Number of Children.	Per cent.
I	33	931	8·9	5,508	52·4	3,425	32·6	569	5·4	70	0·7	10,503	100·0
II	98	428	1·4	4,327	13·7	14,283	45·3	9,959	31·6	2,523	8·0	31,520	100·0
III	178	461	0·7	5,834	8·7	22,802	33·9	27,678	41·2	10,446	15·5	67,221	100·0
IV	134	262	0·5	1,264	2·3	7,632	13·7	31,366	56·4	15,094	27·1	55,618	100·0
V	102	10	—	76	0·2	1,117	3·2	9,493	27·2	24,164	69·4	34,860	100·0
VI	46	—	—	—	—	—	—	541	6·6	7,679	93·4	8,220	100·0
—	591	2,092	1·0	17,009	8·2	49,259	23·7	79,606	38·3	59,976	28·8	207,942	100·0

NOTE.—The details upon which this table is based will be found in a note at the end of this chapter.

Combining the Board and voluntary schools in one general statement we obtain the following result :—

*Classification of London Children in Elementary Schools.*

—	Board Schools.	Voluntary Schools (Protestant).		Voluntary Schools (Catholic).	Total.	
Lowest class	7,266	1,424	0·8	668	9,358	1·4
Very poor	60,670	10,004	5·7	7,005	77,679	11·8
Poor	197,293	34,334	19·6	14,925	246,552	37·4
Comfortable	176,380	129,655	73·9	9,927	315,962	47·9
—	441,609	175,417	100·0	32,525	649,551	100·0

A rough comparison of these figures with those obtained through the School Board visitors' inquiry may be made if we bring the whole population under review. For this purpose it will be convenient to leave classes G and H out of the calculation, their children mainly attending schools above the elementary line. They have, however, about 40,000 children in elementary schools, who must be deducted from the number on the rolls classed as "F and above." Dividing the population in proportion to the children, we then get:—

Class.	Estimates from S. B. Visitors' reports.		Estimates from School Teachers' reports.	
	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.
A .....	37,610	0·9	53,107	1·3
B .....	316,834	7·5	440,833	10·5
C and D .....	938,293	22·3	1,399,196	33·2
E and F .....	2,166,503	51·5	1,566,104	37·2
G and H .....	3,459,240	82·2	3,459,240	82·2
	749,930	17·8		
Institutions .....	4,209,170	100·0		
	99,830			
	4,309,000			

We see from this comparison that the reports of the teachers make more of the poverty than do those of the attendance officers. But it must be borne in mind that there is a great difference in the degree of detail with which our information from these two sources has been collected. In East London every household, as entered in the visitors' books, was individually considered, and in other parts the information, though taken street by street, enumerated and classified the population carefully by



families. On the other hand, except as regards a limited number of specially visited schools, we contented ourselves with general statements from the school teachers as to the proportions of the various classes to be found among their scholars. I believe that in such general statements there will be a tendency to exaggeration. That is to say, that a school which roughly counted its poor as a third of the whole number, would most likely find, if every individual were counted, that the proportion would be less than a third. I am therefore not surprised to find that the subsidiary plan of inquiry, being less completely worked out, should show a higher percentage of poverty than the original method. But the difference is rather great: A from  $\cdot 9$  becomes  $1\cdot 3$ ; B from  $7\cdot 5$  becomes  $10\cdot 5$ ; C and D from  $22\cdot 3$  become  $33\cdot 2$ , or in each instance about half as much again. Besides taking a more general, and therefore less exact, view of the facts, it is not improbable that the teachers in distinguishing between class and class may have drawn the lines of demarcation somewhat above the levels we have attempted to maintain. A very little change as to this would be enough to throw large numbers down from E to D and C, or from C to B. Finally there are the cases when the children do not receive a fair share, and in truth are poorer than their homes. Thus on the whole I find nothing in the second set of figures to throw doubt on the first, and much that tends to confirm their general purport. At the same time it must be admitted that our second essay does not do anything to lighten the colours in which we have had to paint the condition of London as to poverty.

[The detailed tables for voluntary schools which follow are compiled from returns which though limited in number have a wide range. The top line in each section gives the numbers for schools which sent in returns. A proportionate estimate for the other schools of each grade is given on the line below. For summary see p. 480.]

# Protestant Schools.

Section.	No. of Schools.	A.		B.		C and D.		E.		F.		Total.	Per cent. of Poverty.	Per cent. of children returned.
		No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.			
Free.	6	100	7.6	656	49.6	396	30.0	151	11.4	19	1.4	1,322	87.2	26.5
	22	279	—	1,818	—	1,099	—	418	—	51	—	3,665	—	73.5
1d & 2d	28	379	7.6	2,474	49.6	1,495	30.0	569	11.4	70	1.4	4,987	87.2	100.0
	22	123	1.9	845	12.6	2,683	40.0	2,509	37.5	538	8.0	6,698	54.5	31.8
3d	47	273	—	1,812	—	5,752	—	5,393	—	1,150	—	14,380	—	68.2
	69	396	1.9	2,657	12.6	8,435	40.0	7,902	37.5	1,688	8.0	21,078	54.5	100.0
4d	29	86	0.7	810	6.9	3,568	30.5	5,443	46.4	1,816	15.5	11,723	38.1	22.0
	100	291	—	2,870	—	12,688	—	19,302	—	6,448	—	41,599	—	78.0
5d	129	377	0.7	3,680	6.9	16,256	30.5	24,745	46.4	8,264	15.5	53,322	38.1	100.0
	46	102	0.5	450	2.1	2,814	13.2	12,435	58.1	5,591	26.1	21,392	15.8	40.1
6d	78	160	—	672	—	4,225	—	18,596	—	8,354	—	32,007	—	59.9
	124	262	0.5	1,122	2.1	7,039	13.2	31,031	58.1	13,945	26.1	53,399	15.8	100.0
7d	21	3	—	22	0.2	328	3.2	2,799	27.2	7,128	69.4	10,280	3.4	29.6
	79	7	—	49	—	781	—	6,640	—	16,935	—	24,412	—	70.4
8d	100	10	—	71	0.2	1,109	3.2	9,439	27.2	24,063	69.4	34,692	3.4	100.0
	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	215	6.1	3,300	93.9	3,515	—	44.3
9d	33	—	—	—	—	—	—	270	—	4,154	—	4,424	—	55.7
	42	—	—	—	—	—	—	485	6.1	7,454	93.9	7,939	—	100.0
Total	133	414	—	2,783	—	9,789	—	23,552	—	18,392	—	54,930	—	31.3
	359	1,010	—	7,221	—	24,545	—	50,619	—	37,092	—	120,487	—	68.7
	492	1,424	0.8	10,004	5.7	34,334	19.6	74,171	42.2	55,484	31.7	175,417	26.1	100.0

*Roman Catholic Schools.*

Section.	No. of Schools.	A.		B.		C and D.		E.		F.		Total.	Per cent. of Poverty.	Per cent. of children returned.
		No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.	No.	Per cent.			
Free.	5	552	10·0	3,034	55·0	1,930	35·0	—	—	—	—	5,516	100·0	—
1d & 2d	7 22	9 23	0·3 —	445 1,225	16·0 —	1,562 4,286	56·0 —	549 1,508	19·7 —	223 612	8·0 —	2,788 7,654	72·3 —	26·7 73·3
	29	32	0·3	1,670	16·0	5,848	56·0	2,057	19·7	835	8·0	10,442	72·3	100·0
3d	6 43	8 76	0·6 —	193 1,961	15·5 —	586 5,960	47·1 —	263 2,670	21·1 —	195 1,987	15·7 —	1,245 12,654	63·2 —	9·0 91·0
	49	84	0·6	2,154	15·5	6,546	47·1	2,933	21·1	2,182	15·7	13,899	63·2	100·0
4d	2 8	— —	— —	20 122	6·4 —	83 510	26·7 —	47 288	15·1 —	161 988	51·8 —	311 1,908	33·1 —	14·0 86·0
	10	—	—	142	6·4	593	26·7	335	15·1	1,149	51·8	2,219	33·1	100·0
6d	2	—	—	5	3·0	8	5·0	54	32·0	101	60·0	168	8·0	—
9d	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	56	20·0	225	80·0	281	—	—
Total.	15 84	17 651	— —	658 6,347	— —	2,231 12,694	— —	859 4,576	— —	579 3,913	— —	4,344 28,181	— —	13·4 86·6
	99	668	2·0	7,005	21·5	14,925	46·0	5,435	16·7	4,492	13·8	32,525	69·5	100·0



## CHAPTER II.

### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

---

AMONG the public buildings of the Metropolis the London Board schools occupy a conspicuous place. In every quarter the eye is arrested by their distinctive architecture, as they stand, closest where the need is greatest, each one "like a tall sentinel at his post," keeping watch and ward over the interests of the generation that is to replace our own. The Board school buildings, as befits their purpose, are uniformly handsome, commodious, and for the most part substantial and well arranged. The health and convenience of both children and teachers have been carefully considered, and in the later ones especially have been increasingly secured. They accommodate a little over 443,000 children, and have been erected at a cost of about four and a half millions sterling. Taken as a whole, they may be said fairly to represent the high-water-mark of the public conscience in this country in its relation to the education of the children of the people.

The voluntary schools, which provide about one-third of the elementary school accommodation in London, are less noticeable in appearance than those of the Board, reflecting naturally the fact of their various management, and in not a few instances of that struggle for existence which testifies to the sincerity or tenacity of the convictions which form the *raison d'être* of their presence among the rest. They are, as a rule, on a much smaller scale than the Board schools, less expensive and imposing in construction, in

some cases barely reaching the present statutory requirements; in others, where funds have been more plentiful, airy, light, and cheerful. Now and then the door opens on a scene of homely comfort, foreign altogether to the austere impeccability of a Board school interior. This we find chiefly in infants' or girls' schools taught by Sisters of the Roman Church.

As regards educational efficiency, the voluntary schools press the Board schools close. The average attendance also is about the same, 78 per cent. In one respect all are rigorously alike. The work done in every school, Board and voluntary without distinction, runs in the channels defined by the Code, and all depend largely, if not mainly, for support on the Government grant.

The personal inquiry, undertaken at the editor's request, of which the results are now given, has had in view a two-fold object, viz. to ascertain :

I. The class and condition of the children attending the London elementary schools, their general characteristics, and their special needs.

II. The extent to which, under existing arrangements, these needs are being met.

With regard to children in Board schools, the admirable organization of the London School Board, together with the ready aid afforded by members and officials, placed the work of investigation on a comparatively simple footing. In proceeding to voluntary schools the task was complicated considerably by the absence of any common headship or control in their system of management. My grateful thanks are due to Cardinal Manning and to the Bishop of Bedford for cordial and valuable aid; also to managers and others who have freely given access to their schools and placed their stores of information at my disposal. But taken generally, this portion of the inquiry has been of necessity more desultory and fragmentary than the other.

The school fees under the London Board are fixed

according to the character of the population from which the schools are severally filled, and vary from 1*d* to 2*d*, 4*d*, and 6*d* per week. Two only reach 9*d*, the limit prescribed by law. In the voluntary schools, divided mainly between Church of England and Roman Catholic, the fees generally are lowest in the latter, which contain a large proportion of the poorer class of children. In the Church of England, Wesleyan, and other schools, the scale on the whole is higher, and children of the poorer class proportionately few. In poor districts the more respectable parents often send their children to a Church school for the sake of selectness, making an effort to pay the higher fee in order to avoid the indiscriminate companionship of the Board school. In the great Jewish schools, Bell Lane, and Spitalfields infants' school, attended by more than 4200 children, the fees are nominal and not enforced.

In schools under the London Board there is nothing, beyond the aspect and condition of the children who fill them, to distinguish those with different rates of fees one from another. The buildings, the staff, the educational appliances, the requirements of the Code, are the same for every class. It is the children alone who vary. Voluntary schools, to a great extent, except as regards the requirements of the Code, differ according to the fees, endowments, or other means of support, and also with the management.

Despite the smallness of the fees, especially in the Board schools, a large proportion cannot be collected. The amount of fees remitted, *i.e.* of practically free education given, in voluntary schools as a whole, we have no means of ascertaining. In those under the Board the figures are brought out with great exactness. Not less than 110,000 children had their fees remitted for the whole or for part of the year ending Lady Day, 1889; or taking the weekly remissions for 1889-90, we find about 90,000 as a constant quantity, 20 per cent. of the number on the roll, receiving



free education from the London Board, the parents professing themselves unable otherwise to provide their children with this necessary of civilized life.\*

Further than this, an official return, made in 1889, gives over 40,000 children in the London Board schools, or nearly 10 per cent. of the number on the roll, as habitually attending in want of food, to which number returns from Voluntary schools add about 11,000 in the same condition.

The returns were somewhat loosely made during a period of exceptional distress, and the figures are doubtless in excess of the facts, but there is abundant evidence that the aggregate of children underfed at home is deplorably large. It will not be understood that on any given day the whole are in actual want of food, though all are irregularly or insufficiently provided for. Some come breakfastless or dinnerless perhaps once a week, others more frequently, while many hardly ever know the comfort of a wholesome and satisfying meal at home. Hackney, Finsbury, and Southwark stand highest in this respect; and in these divisions we also find the highest percentage of fees remitted, and the lowest average in the grant earned by the children. Puny, pale-faced, scantily clad and badly shod, these small and feeble folk may be found sitting limp and chill on the school benches in all the poorer parts of London. They swell the bills of mortality as want and sickness thin them off, or survive to be the needy and enfeebled adults whose burden of helplessness the next generation will have to bear.

Unhappily, in many cases, this semi-starved condition of the child is due not to poverty alone, but to drink, neglect, or vice at home. The practised eye can readily distinguish children of this class by their shrinking or furtive look, their unwholesomeness of aspect, their sickly squalor, or it may be by their indescribable pathos, the little shoulders bowed so helplessly beneath the burden of the parents' vice.

\* This includes 3458 whose fees are paid by the Guardians.

"How was it you came to school without any breakfast this morning?" I asked a forlorn little lad one day. "Mother got drunk last night and couldn't get up to give me any," was the reply, given as if it were an ordinary incident in the child's daily life.

It is from homes of this class also that the majority of children come whose irregular attendance is the torment of the teacher, and the cause of so much waste of the public money. Schools containing any large proportion of children from such homes are known as "*Special Difficulty*" schools. The work in them is more laborious than in others, the teaching staff more costly, the children more sickly, dull, and ill-conditioned, the Government grant smaller and more difficult to earn. They form altogether a heavier burthen on the rates than those filled by children from decent homes. There are twenty-two of these "*Special Difficulty*" schools in London, containing in all about 21,000 children. But the residuum element exists to an almost equal extent in others not upon the list, and is to be found more or less in all the poorer schools, both Board and Voluntary. There can be no doubt that schools of this class, filled by children from the poorest and most irregular homes, can be dealt with to more purpose as a rule by the Board, with its large command of public money, than by voluntary agencies. We find, in effect, that Church and mission schools of this type are every year being closed or transferred to the Board. Among the Roman Catholic and Jewish communities, each including a large proportion of children of the poorest class, the strong effort needed for retaining the control of the schools is made, among the former more especially, for the sake of retaining with it the distinctive teaching of their respective faiths.

In describing the schools we will take them in an ascending scale, beginning with the more costly *Special Difficulty* schools, and others in which the lowest classes predomi-

nate, and ending with those in which the well-fed, well-clad children of the upper working class receive the advanced teaching of which recent memorialists complain.

The Board schools, or more properly the children who fill them, may be divided broadly into three grades—lower, middle, and upper. (See Schedule on page 478.) The lower grade schools (Class I.), containing rather more than 100,000 children, include the *Special Difficulty* schools, and those in which the “very poor” children of Class B, with an admixture of those from Class A, form a third of the school or nearly so. The middle grade schools (Classes II. and III.), containing about 200,000 children, are those which are filled mainly from Classes C and D, who in this book are called “the poor.” The upper grade schools (Classes IV., V., and VI.), are those in which from two-thirds to nearly the whole of the children are drawn from Classes E and F, with an admixture from Class G, children of upper working class parents, foremen, small shopkeepers, and clerks. These schools contain about 130,000 children.\*

Of the lower class, *Nichol Street* and *Castle Street*, Shoreditch; *Orange Street* and *Westcott Street*, Southwark; *Regent Street* and *Hughes Fields*, Deptford; *Tower Street*, Seven Dials; *Ponton Road*, Nine Elms; The “*Highway*” School, in the once notorious Ratchiff Highway, and *St. Clement’s*, Notting Hill, may be taken as types. One or two of these we will examine in detail.

Before doing so it will be well to gather some idea of the homes from which the children come, and the conditions which surround them there.

We find our school usually on the skirts, or standing in the midst of a crowded, low, insanitary neighbourhood. The main streets, narrow at best, branch off into others narrower still; and these again into a labyrinth of blind

\* This division tallies roughly with the fees charged. There are 110,000 school places at 1d; 180,000 at 2d; 100,000 at 3d; and 60,000 at 4d or over.



alleys, courts and lanes ; all dirty, foul-smelling, and littered with garbage and refuse of every kind. The houses are old, damp and dilapidated. Some have been condemned as unfit for habitation. The doors are barricaded, and the broken windows boarded up. Others are being patched up and whitewashed over to pass inspection a little longer. Few families in the neighbourhood occupy more than a couple of rooms. Fully a third live in a single one, often so small and unwholesome that sickness is a constant tenant too. Here, in a space that would hardly suffice for the graves of a household, father, mother and children, sometimes a lodger too, work out the problem of domestic life.

Not that the children are much in the home. Their waking hours are divided between school and the streets. Bedtime is when the public-houses close. The hours before that are the liveliest of all the twenty-four, and they swarm about undisturbed till then. They have no regular meal times. When they are hungry the mother puts into their hands a "butty," *i.e.* a slice of bread with a scrape of dripping, lard, or the current substitute for butter, and sends them off to consume it on the doorstep or in the street. The youngest of the brood she supplies with a "sugar butty," *i.e.* a "butty" with as much sugar as will stick upon the scrape. A draught of stale tea usually goes with it. When funds are low, or where drink forestalls the children's bread, the scrape and cold tea vanish, the sugar butty is a thing of the past, the slice from the loaf becomes an intermittent supply, neighbours help out the children's needs, and free meals at school keep starvation from the door.

Public-houses are usually abundant in a neighbourhood like this. Sometimes we find as many as one to every eighty or a hundred adults, all thriving on the custom they receive. It is not always easy to specify the individual drinkers, but with so many of these houses kept going by a population on the verge of pauperism, it is clear that the

feeding of his children cannot in all cases be a first charge on the parent's earnings. Pawnshops, too, are handy of access; and in them may be often found the little jackets, boots, and petticoats, which account for the half-clad condition of the children in the schools.

These are the children's homes. The parents are compelled by poverty, or by inclination are content, to dwell in them. Their children, born and brought up under such conditions, take the colour of their surroundings, and following Nature's law, grow up to repeat the parental type.

To the casual observer, street children, especially of the poorer class, proclaim themselves chiefly by their noisiness, their rags and dirt, their tendency to swarm, their occasional pathos, their frequent fun, their general air of squalor and neglect. The first thing that strikes a stranger on entering a school is the wonderful order that everywhere prevails. There is nothing to indicate harsh control. On the contrary, children and teachers seem as a rule to be on quite amicable terms. There is even in some schools what approaches to *camaraderie* between them. But the discipline is perfect. From end to end, through the whole school, in every department it is the same. The turbulence of the streets is subdued into industrious calm. Ragged little *gamins* run quietly in harness, obedient to a look, a gesture, of the teacher in command. No matter what door we open we find the school work going smoothly and steadily along. Even the baby regiment in the lowest of the infant classes shows the same aptitude for order, and toddles through the programme with an intentness comic to behold. It is this responsiveness to rule, right rule, which more than any other thing gives ground for hope in regard to the future of these poor children. That such a miscellaneous undisciplined mass as the school population of the lowest streets in London should be brought into line, and taught, as so many are, to feel pride in their school, their teachers, even in themselves, is an achievement holding within it the

beginnings of all good. This is the true clue to follow in dealing with children of this class. Of leadership in their parents they have none, or next to none. What they need is to be encouraged and allured to "catch on" to something that will lift them out of the slough into which they were born, and give them a taste for better things. Much of the best work in London schools of the lower grade comes under this head, and is due to the personal influence of the teachers, to training, common sense, and kindness, more than to the mere teaching of the Code.

A Board school is commonly arranged in three storeys, corresponding to the three departments, boys, girls, and infants, each storey having an entrance and playground of its own. We will begin our survey with the infants.

The school career of these little people commences at a tender age. When an "infant" is three years old it may be sent to an elementary school; and mothers of the poorer class are often glad to have a child out of the way and looked after during school hours at the cost of a penny a week. At five, the law requires it to attend. At seven it ranks as a boy or girl, and is promoted accordingly to one of these departments. An infant department under the London Board usually contains from 300 to 500 children. These are distributed according to age or ability, in classes of 40 or 50, up to 60 each. Some of the classes are in separate rooms; others are two or three together in a larger one, each with a teacher to itself. The "babies," *i.e.* children under five, have a gallery of their own, with little benches comfortably fitted, rising one behind the other, so that every pair of eyes has the teacher full in view. An infant class, even in a school of the lowest grade, is a pleasant sight, always provided that there is a bright capable head teacher, who puts her heart into her work, and inspires her assistants with her own energy and cheerfulness. The busy contented little faces that we see around us tell plainly enough that school is a place to be happy and



comfortable in, more so, in many cases, than the children are or can be in their wretched homes.

In all but the very worst localities, however, the majority of the parents are fairly decent folk, working when they can, and doing their best for their children, however poor that best may be. Even as regards the poorest and most neglected homes, we find that children in the infant classes reflect the vice or poverty of the parents less than those in the upper departments. The "slum" mother, as a rule, will spend herself over the little ones, toiling for their bread, and delighting to dress and deck them out, though the elder ones may be left to shift and forage for themselves. An infant school gallery will often show us quite an array of chubby little faces which afford little or no index to the poverty or irregularity of the homes from which the children come. Still, in all poor schools we shall find many whose puny and sickly looks show too clearly that they are either feebly born, or are living under unwholesome and bad conditions at home. Usually such children come either from drinking homes, or from those where the family has over-run the means of subsistence, and the over-worn mother must herself often work for the children's bread before she has it to give to them. I have known a woman of this class present herself at the door of an infant school with a couple of slices of bread, begging that her children might be allowed to eat it at once, as she had bought it with money earned since they went breakfastless to school.

At the first glance it might seem as if not much could be done in the way of education, with a school full of such children of seven years old and under. If they are kept in order, taught the rudiments of cleanliness and good behaviour, and can learn to make pot-hooks, and read words of one syllable, the little girls to hold a needle too, all without too many tears by the way, that is as much, some would say, as can be reasonably expected.

Our London Board infant school children would laugh at a curriculum like that. They have Kinder-garten, object-lessons, Swedish-drill, and action-songs; none of them requiring tears at all, though serving admirably to develop both the little bodies and the brains as well. Also at seven years old the Code requires that they shall be ready for examination in Standard I., this being a kind of "matriculation examination," undergone by infants on entering a boys' or girls' department. It includes reading from books containing words of more than one syllable, spelling, writing, arithmetic as far as addition, subtraction, and half the multiplication table, singing by note as well as by ear, needlework for girls, and either drawing or needlework for boys. As the Government grant has depended hitherto on the children passing this examination, which is still required of them, they are of course pulled up to it, though it may be questioned whether the earning of the money does not to a great extent defeat the very purpose for which it is given. The children in the infant department of a "*Special Difficulty*" school, poorly born, poorly fed, too often neglected at home, and taught of necessity in classes of fifty to sixty each, cannot be crammed up to examination point at seven years of age without suffering somewhere. It can be done, and as a rule is done; but with a kind of educational *pâté de foie gras* as result, instead of that wholesome all-round development of the child's growing powers, which at this age should be the teacher's aim. The London School Board deserve all praise for the efforts they are making to minimize the pressure of the Code, and develop a more natural and wholesome method in their infant schools of every grade. Much is done; still more might be done, if healthy development could be recognized as the chief aim of an infant school, and the teachers encouraged and required to devote themselves to this more vital side of education, instead of to the mere mechanical process of preparation for Standard I.

The problems of neglect and poverty come more distinctly into view when we pass from the infants' to the upper departments of a school of this class. In the boys' department, which we enter first, we find the head teacher busy with a class of Standard I., dull and backward children, who require the most skilled teaching that the school possesses, to coach them up to examination point. A sorry group they are; fifteen or twenty of them; failures from the infants, or boys just "run in" by the attendance officers from the streets, who may never have been in school before. One or two are tidy-looking boys; one has a clean washed face, and a white collar on. The rest are ragged, ill-kept, and squalid in appearance. Some are filthily dirty, others sickly looking, with sore eyes and unwholesome aspect. One or two seem hopelessly dull, almost vacant. Another, a little scare-crow fellow, alert and sharp, with a pair of black eyes twinkling restlessly around as if he were meditating escape, had made his own living, we are told, in the streets before the officer ran him in.

"They need a great deal of encouragement," the teacher tells us cheerfully; "but some of them are beginning to make a start. They come cleaner than they did, for one thing; and that is a great step towards civilization." "And a most essential one too," we are ready to remark. For compassion itself cannot blind us to the fact that it is neither safe nor pleasant to come into too close quarters with these new recruits.

But this is the lowest circle in the mount of toil; and as we rise through the standards, things improve. In schools of this class the lower standards are always the worst. Still, even in them we can pick out a number, not a very large one, it is true, of tidy, tolerably healthy looking children, fairly well fed and shod, and with tokens of being cared for at home. On inquiry we find that the boots in many cases have been given free, also the clothes, and that a great amount of free feeding goes on at a Mission close



by. Few of the children come from homes that can be classed as comfortable. The great bulk of the parents are poor; many of them living on the verge of pauperism. The majority are labourers, in casual or constant work, hawkers, and petty dealers. Many are widows, or deserted wives. At best their earnings are insufficient to support a family in comfort. When work is slack the children pinch or starve, unless charity steps in to help.

Poor as they are, however, fully half of the homes are decent in their way; the parents striving people, doing what they can for their children and themselves. The rest shade down through those that are shiftless, careless, and indifferent, till the school residuum is reached, children of drunken, dissolute, or neglectful parents, amounting to about 12 per cent. of the whole. This includes a contingent from Class A, representing the lowest social type, the men loafing about, never at work yet with money always in hand for drink, the women leading doubtful or immoral lives, the children instructed to know nothing about their homes, seldom to be found in school, and growing up in their parents' ways.

After Standards III. and IV., a marked improvement is apparent. We see a freer sprinkling of "clean collar boys," less sickliness and squalor, less evidence of under-feeding or neglect at home. A London child who has passed the fourth standard is free from school at thirteen years of age.\* The dull and sickly, the idle and irregular, reach

\* Synopsis of requirements for Standard IV., New Code, 1890:—

Reading with fluency and expression from any book chosen by the Inspector.

Writing any passage of prose or poetry from dictation, with Spelling. More than three mistakes "fail" a child.

Arithmetic, Compound Rules with principles, Reduction, Tables of Weight, Length, Area, Capacity, &c.

Needlework for Girls, Drawing for Boys. Singing.

Recitation of eighty lines of poetry, the meanings and allusions being properly understood.

Class subjects, Grammar, Geography, Elementary Science, History. Two of these are usually taken.

the barrier and leave; their parents hurrying them off to work the moment legal release is possible. The brighter or more regular children, on whom the training of the school has told, or who come from the more respectable homes, move on into Standards V. or VI. Sometimes at ten or eleven years old they are in Standard V., and have passed the sixth before they are twelve. But they form a dwindling element. The sixth standard boys, to whom the teacher introduces us with honest pride, open-faced, intelligent-looking lads, the crown of his toil, whom he has carried through all the stages of their school career, count up to only 6 per cent. of the whole. In some schools it is not more than 2 or 3 per cent.

Under-feeding and irregular attendance, the teacher tells us, next to the stringency of the Code, are the two great difficulties with which they have to contend. Nearly a third of the children here have free tickets for the Penny Dinner Centre close by, and more are needing them. Many, but for these free meals, would starve; and to teach a starving child up to the requirements of the Code taxes not only a teacher's energies, but his conscience too. As usual, however, poverty alone is not to blame. One child after another we notice with the peculiarly squalid pallor that marks habitual under-feeding, and find that he comes from a drunken home. So with the attendance. A fixed set come well—some hardly ever miss.\* Others come indifferently well. And a fixed set, from 18 to 20 per cent., come badly, and these with scarcely an exception are from the worst and most irregular homes.

Still, on the whole, the school just described, a detailed analysis of which will be found with others at the end of this chapter, is a favourable specimen of its class. The

\* Children in even the poorest schools, especially with a popular head teacher, often win the medal given for not missing a single attendance through the whole school year. 9359 of these medals were given last year by the London Board.

difficulty with the children is caused more frequently by poverty and shiftlessness at home than by neglect and vice, though there is a heavy tide of these as well. We will take one now of the worst type. This is a smaller school, filled from a neighbourhood of circumscribed area and of the lowest kind. The inhabitants are chiefly hawkers and casual labourers, including a large proportion of London-born Irish. The street population, lounging in the doorways or hanging round the gin-shops at the corners of the streets, look shiftless and disreputable. Dirty, barefooted children, who ought to be in school, are scuffling in passages and entries. Policemen stand about in couples. Lanes and alleys wind here and there with no outlet or proper thoroughfare. One-roomed families are the rule. The slum look is everywhere. It penetrates like a slimy fog into the school itself. "Slum-born" seems written on the faces of the children, hardly one of whom impresses us as well up to the average. There are a few exceptions, wholesome-looking faces, but very few. We see numbers of half-imbecile children throughout the school; big boys in low standards who cannot learn, try as they may; children of drinking parents chiefly. The head teacher, a capable, thoughtful man, tells us that nearly a fourth of the children have bad or drunken homes, dragged down sometimes by the father, sometimes by the mother, often by both. Two-thirds of them have their fees remitted. About the same number have free meals as often as the funds allow. A full fourth of the children on the rolls are seldom seen in school. They are those from the worst homes, who most need the training that they lose. These irregular children add enormously to the labour of the teacher. Sometimes a boy is running wild for weeks together. When he returns he must be coached up somehow to the level of the others. If this is not done the school is discredited, and under the late Code, for each child that failed to "pass," the Government grant was



lost. Compulsion in its ordinary form, with children of this class, is practically powerless. They, or their parents for them, present to the baffled officer who is told off to enforce it, a front sometimes of sturdy defiance, more frequently of masterly inactivity or infinite evasiveness. Their shifts are legion. To get one of these little Ishmaels "run in" to school is like fixing a drop of quicksilver with a pin. The next day he is off again, and if occasionally he returns, it is only to be the despair and torment of the teacher, who can neither class him with the rest, nor give him his undivided attention to the neglect of the more regular scholars. It must be said, however, in partial excuse, that the school-work required by the Code is neither attractive in itself to children of this class, nor does it commend itself to the parents as likely to serve a boy much in the struggle for bread which by-and-by awaits him.

In the girls' department it is the same. Everywhere we are met by tokens of penury or bad conditions in the home. Children are pointed out to us stunted in growth, anxious-eyed, with faces old beyond their years, burdened out of school with the whole charge of the wretched little home. "Never no time to play," as one of them explains. Sometimes the mother is at work all day, while the father drinks away his wages and his time. Sometimes she drinks herself, and her tasks are shuffled off upon the child. One mother is in prison. Another, with five young children, has been six weeks in the hospital. The eldest, nine years old, tells us that she "does for them" herself. The little brother of six stops at home now, to "keep house" and nurse the baby while she is at school. Even the youngest of these girls, we find, has often to wash and dress and feed the baby, to cook the father's dinner when the mother is at work, and to "clean up" the single room in which the family live. Here, as in other schools of a similar class, the teacher laments that there is so little time for the kind of training, especially in matters of the home, that these

children imperatively need. "I long," she tells us, "to have simple, practical lessons with them on things belonging to home and a woman's work, but there is no time for it. We cannot stretch the Code."

She is right. It is the child that must be fitted to the Code, not the Code to the child. It will be scarcely credited by some that up to September, 1890, when the new Code\* was issued, the first thing exacted from these children of the slums, after being drilled up to examination point in the three elementaries, was proficiency in English grammar, parsing, and analysis. That they should be able to distinguish between subject and predicate in a sentence, and to state precisely the grounds for saying "He and I," instead of "Him and me," which is the use in the vernacular, was laid down by the Department as the condition on which alone anything was permitted to be taught—the three R.'s and needlework excepted—on which the Government grant was earned.

These lower grade children are quick enough in their own way, but it is not in the direction of abstract thought. In a school of a somewhat better type, but very poor, the parents chiefly costers and casual labourers, a teacher was taking grammar with a class of Standard IV. boys when I entered one day. The boys, many of them slum-born, all poor, were evidently trying to attend; but they looked dazed and beaten, their faces worried and vacant, and the low-born type supreme. The more clearly the teacher explained, the more it seemed as if their brains closed up against the abstract ideas involved. The sentence they were parsing was, "*He slipped the money in his mother's till.*" They struggled on until the last word was reached.

\* The pernicious system of payment by results is in great part abolished under the new Code; also compulsory precedence for English grammar as a "class subject." In other respects, as regards children of this grade in the London schools, things remain much as they were, though, on the whole, advance is made.

"*Till*"—what case was "*till*," and why? No answers or all astray. At last a steady-looking boy thought he had hit it, and shot forth his hand by way of announcement. "Possessive case. Because it had got the money in it!" Yet the same boys, when questioned presently on things that came home to them, penny bank-books, spending and saving, medals, prizes and punctuality, Band of Hope, earning a living, &c., showed no lack of shrewdness and common-sense. Their faces changed. The slum look fell off. Their individuality came out. All looked eager, bright, responsive, as if they had caught the scent, and were in full chase after ideas which already were half their own. A lesson in the fact that "*cram*" and education are not the same.

One step in advance, however, has recently been taken. In every London Board school, and in many of the voluntary schools, the older girls learn cookery, now a Code subject, thanks to the strong and persistent pressure put on the Department in this direction. A fair number of the children here have been to the cookery centre. All are fond of it. Their faces brighten the moment it is spoken of. Some of them, the tidier ones with decent mothers, are proud to tell that they have made at home the things they learned at the classes. Shepherd's pie, rock cakes, and Irish stew, seem popular attempts. All declare that their dish turned out well; with the addition, usually, that "father ate it." The beginnings of good are here. The deepest and best instinct, lying back of everything in the woman heart, the desire to "make home comfortable," is reached and brought into play. It is the carrying on, though with a sad gap between, of the Kindergarten training in the infant school. Many things are taught at these cookery centres besides cookery itself—cleanliness, neatness, precision, despatch. The observing faculties are brought into play, the latent womanliness developed. Above all, these girls get to something that they can understand and be interested in, and which works into their



scheme of life ; a necessary condition, if they are to retain what they learn, or put it to use after leaving school. Training in the domestic arts is the best thing we can give to girls of this class, needful before all else if we are to raise their standard of living, or help them out of the quagmire of their slum surroundings. The practical good sense of a section of the London School Board, notably some of the women members, has shown itself nowhere more than in their determination to have the necessity for training of this kind recognized by the Department.\*

The difference, generally speaking, is quite perceptible in passing from a school of the lower, to one of the middle grade. Children of Class B sink now to a small minority ; 15 down to 10 per cent. Class A is barely represented. Classes E and F rise to the respectable total of 26 to 37 per cent., and tone perceptibly the aspect of the school. Standards V. and VI. begin to swell out. There are fewer fees remitted, fewer free meals given, and bad attendance steadily decreases.

The tone and aspect of a school, however, depend very much on the teacher, as well as on the class from which the children come. A lower-grade school, which has been for some time under a head teacher of the right type, will often look as brisk and trim as one in a better neighbourhood where there is less of the spirit of leadership and loyalty. A middle-grade school will show as many open intelligent faces among the boys, as much refinement and decision among the girls, as one of quite the upper grade that has been managed by a mere mechanical driver for "results." A really good head teacher, a man or woman of energy, originality, formative power, above all with the insight that comes from sympathy, is a great power, not only in a school of this class, but in the neighbourhood as well, a civilizing

\* In six of the Board schools manual training for boys—woodwork chiefly—has been provided lately at the cost of the City Guilds.

Laundry work is now placed on the list of Code subjects.

agent of the highest kind. There are not a few in the lower and middle-grade schools who know the homes of nearly every child under their care, who go among the parents, win their confidence, and endeavour, often with good success, to make them feel an interest in what the school is doing. They cheer and brace the younger children. The elder ones they teach to look ahead, instilling a wholesome ambition into them, and putting before them something to strive for, the thing above all others that they require in the absence of any stimulus at home beyond the grinding need for daily bread. Want of purpose, it may be said, in passing, is a prevailing feature in homes of this class. Among the parents, thought for their children's future is practically unknown. The instinctive protective feeling, which all creatures have in common for their helpless young, seldom developes with them into that form of affection which desires the progress of their offspring, and makes effort to secure it. The contrast in this respect between English and Jewish parents of the poorest grade is very marked. Jewish children, encouraged in every way at home, often progress with astonishing rapidity, and seldom fail to reward the ambition of their parents by a substantial advance on their original condition. But there is good material also to be found in parents of the former class, and no little responsiveness in many of them, once they are convinced that a teacher is honestly doing his best for them and their children. In a capital school which I was visiting one day, a teacher of the true civilizing type told me with a smile, how a poor fellow, a coster by trade, father of two of his boys, had appeared that morning at the school-door, and after fumbling awhile in speech, not being very sure of his ground, suddenly produced a huge crab, the finest of his stock, which he had brought in token of goodwill, thrust it into the teacher's hands, and with a delicate avoidance of thanks, clattered straightway down the stairs.

Under the law of payment by results it was difficult for

teachers, or even the Board itself, to introduce anything, however important to the child, that was not encouraged by the Code. Penny banks, school libraries, Swedish drill, Bands of Hope, cricket and football clubs, &c., all of them educative in the best sense for children, especially of the middle or lower grades, could be worked only at a sacrifice from the "paying" point of view. It is to the praise of the London schools that so much in these directions has been done. The penny bank, invaluable as an aid to thrift, is now a common part of the school machinery. With a copper in hand, the child's first instinct is to "spend it," usually in sweets. The sweet-shop, in fact, is the child's public-house. It abounds in all poor neighbourhoods, and serves as an excellent training in those habits of heedless self-indulgence which are the root of half the misery of the slums. The penny bank is the best corrective to habits of this kind, and the best possible training in those opposite habits of industry, thrift, and forethought, on which the salvation of the poor depends. Under a good head teacher quite a large proportion of children in the upper standards may be found possessors of a bank-book. Many of them, both boys and girls, not only save their pennies, but earn them too. Running errands, nursing a baby, minding a shop, going round with a milkman, taking out the morning papers, &c., all bring in money. One young capitalist I met with 12s 6d of his own, laboriously earned by "knocking up" people who had to be early at work in the dark winter mornings. The savings usually go for the purchase of clothes at Christmas; boots, jackets, frocks, or comforters. In a desperately poor school in Bethnal Green, where none of the investments rose to more than two or three shillings, a quiet pale-faced little fellow informed me in a whisper that he was saving up, "*to buy a coffin when I die!*" A curious loophole into the intense feeling that exists on this point among the lower working class. In another school a boy had paid for his "country holiday" with his savings.



In another, the teacher told me that one of his best lads who had just left school, the son of a very poor widow, had apprenticed himself to a good trade with the money he had earned and been saving up for two years or more.

Swedish or musical drill, an essential part of physical education, especially for London children of the poorer class, who cannot get their proper modicum of active play, is taken more or less in every Board school. Its introduction twenty years ago was due to the womanly common sense of Mrs. Webster, one of the first members of the Board. The difference in the physique and carriage of children in schools where Swedish drill comes well to the front, and those where it has been discouraged in favour of "paying" subjects, is very noticeable. Both drill and singing, the latter a Code subject, are popular with children and staff alike, and in some schools, as their public competitions show, are exceedingly well taught. The Band of Hope, too, is generally a popular institution. Half the children in a school will be found sometimes belonging to one, and eager to announce the fact. The "*League of the Cross*," the corresponding organization among the Roman Catholics, I found in great force also in their schools, under the fostering care of Cardinal Manning. Love of drink in the adult is a terribly tough bough to lop; but one may hope that these tens of thousands of little temperance twigs will tell on the sobriety of the generation that is to follow our own.

Passing now to schools of the upper grade, Classes IV., V., and VI. in the Schedule, we are conscious of distinct advance. A more inspiring and satisfactory sight can hardly be desired than that presented by a London elementary school, Board or voluntary, such as may be seen in every workman's suburb, or planted where the better paid trades abound. Classes B, C, and D are represented, but in proportions dwindling from 33 down to 6 per cent. in schools of Class VI. in the Schedule. The great

bulk of the children are wholesome, bright-looking, well-fed, well-clad, eager for notice, "smart," and full of life. "Smartness" is much cultivated in schools of this class, and the superiority in nervous power is often very noticeable as compared with those of the lower grades. The work done, though often mechanical, too clerkly, and narrowed under past regulations by the defects of a rigid and imperfect Code, is still in quality, scope, and teaching power, distinctly in advance of what even middle-class parents, a few years ago, could secure for their children in the ordinary private school. In some, with a head teacher of superior type, not the work alone, but the whole spirit and tone of the school are admirable. In others, even where the work as measured by "results" is good, the impression at times conveyed is that the less desirable characteristics of the lower middle-class are being grafted on those of the upper working class.

It is commonly supposed that the education given in schools of this class costs more per child to the community than that received by children in the lower-grade schools. The exact contrary is the case. In *Medburn Street* boys' school, one of the best in London, where advanced teaching is given, and the head teacher is a B.A. of the London University, the average cost for teaching is £2. 14s 4d per head;\* and of this £1. 0s 8d is paid in fees. In *Beethoven Street* school, another of the same class, the cost for teaching is £2. 2s per head, and the average sum paid in fees is 10s 2d. On the other hand, in *Nichol Street* school, Shoreditch, filled by the lowest class of children, the cost per head for teaching is £3. 6s 3d, of which fifteenpence per head is paid in fees. In *Hughes' Fields* school, Deptford, a similar school, the cost for teaching is £2. 19s per head, and the average fees paid, 1s 9d. This comparison holds good throughout the

\* This does not include other items which average the same for all.

schools. Nothing, in fact, is more costly to the community, from first to last, than a slum child.

Such are the schools, and such the children taught in them. The condition of the latter may be summarized as follows :—

Among those of the lowest grade, Class B, the child's immediate needs are in arrear and arrest attention first. It is under-fed, ill-clad, badly lodged, and poorly born. Parental responsibilities, recklessly assumed, are in practice unfulfilled ; from necessity it may be, or from neglect. In either case, unless gross cruelty is involved or actual desertion proved, no statutory means exist, except as to education, for enforcing on the parents the fulfilment of their obligations, or for shielding the child in their default. The instruction given in the schools, though good in itself, is adapted mainly to children of a higher grade, and is of a kind which those of lower grade are in great measure unable to assimilate ; nor has it, except to a limited extent, any practical bearing on their after life.

In Classes C and D, the child's immediate needs as a rule are met, though not without a struggle on the parent's part ; but its future for the most part is left to chance. The teaching of the schools has but partial bearing on its after life, and little or no provision is made at home for enabling the boy or girl to become self-supporting as an adult. With the mass of parents in these classes the main idea as regards their children's school life, is that they shall " pass their standards," so as to get out to work as soon as possible. The girls go to factory work, get a small place of some kind, help the mother at home, or keep the house while she goes out to work. Many among the boys follow the father's calling, whatever it may be, and learn a trade while helping him. With a large proportion, however, the downward pull lies in the ease with which parents, driven by their own immediate needs, can get a boy on leaving school into a place where his earnings will enable him at



once to add a few shillings a week to the family exchequer, but in which he learns nothing that will help him to a maintenance in after life. At sixteen or seventeen such a lad is worth no more in the labour market than when he left school. He is too big for boy's work, and is not content with a boy's wage. He tries for a rise, and tries in vain; drifts into casual employment—hawking or some of the many forms of unskilled ill-paid work; trusts to chance for a living, marries at twenty, and is presently adding his weight to the mass of "unemployed" for whose labour no market can be found.

In Classes E and F the full round of parental responsibility is fulfilled. The child's immediate needs are met, and preparation for the future is more or less secured. As regards children of this class the education given in the schools to a certain point is excellent for all, and for a limited section is good throughout. For the majority it is too exclusively clerkly to meet their needs. It tends to foster a mistaken ambition, to the prejudice of the manual arts, and has but little bearing on that industrial life, productive or domestic, in which the majority will hereafter be engaged, and on which their progress and prosperity as a class depend. The education of the Code has been, in fact, *technical education of the wrong kind*, fitting the children for competitive examinations, clerkships, and college work, and not for the workshop, the engine-room, the factory, or the home.

The needs of the children, as our survey has brought them into view, are traceable generally to three sources.

I. Poverty.

II. Neglect.

III. Defects in the Code.

I. *Poverty*.—Of the needs arising from poverty in the home, underfeeding, due also in many cases to neglect, is the most pressing and apparent, and active efforts have recently been made to meet it by the supply of food.

either at the schools or at Feeding Centres. It may be questioned, however, whether the system of free feeding for London children, organized as it is at present, without any attempt to fix on the parent the responsibility for his child's support, will not tend eventually to nourish the evil it is designed to cure. The free meal every school-day, given to all who on the score of need put in their claim, simply reduces by so much the minimum cost, and, therefore, the minimum wage, at which family life is possible. To the shiftless and indifferent it means the removal of that natural and wholesome stimulus which the necessity of providing for the wants of a family supplies. To the idle and drinking parent it means so much set free for the publican's till. To all it means liberty to add with impunity fresh units to the helpless and unwieldy mass already hanging like a millstone round the necks of the thrifty poor. The better fulfilment of parental responsibility is the true point to aim at. We have on our Statute Book an *Education of Children Act*, requiring parents under penalty to provide their children with a certain minimum of education. What is needed further, in the interests both of the child and the community, is provision in some form, securing to the child the same certainty of food, at the charge either of the parents, or, with due restrictions, of the Guardians of the Poor, which it possesses now in regard to education.

A child of school age, habitually underfed at home, and unable in consequence to receive to purpose the instruction on which the State insists, presents one of the most difficult problems which modern civilization is called upon to solve. One thing we are bound to admit. The child must be fed; by its parents, by charity, or by the State. If by charity, full and strict inquiry should bring to light the causes of distress. If by the State, the parent should be classed as in receipt of outdoor relief. In no other way can we secure to the child a portion at least of its natural rights, without

fostering unduly the growth of a residuum class, and preparing for the coming generation a burden heavier even than our own.

II. *Neglect*.—Irregular attendance is the chief point requiring to be dealt with under this head. As under-feeding is chargeable in many cases to neglect, so irregular attendance is due sometimes to need. Children, girls especially, are often kept from school on fairly reasonable grounds—to keep house while the mother is away, to help her in the home, to fetch and carry slop work long distances to and from the shops, &c. Sometimes it is to avoid payment of the fee. But the bulk of persistent irregularity, with all its worry to the teacher, injury to the child, and waste of the public money, is chargeable to neglect. In some of the lower-grade schools the list of absentees counts up regularly to 30 per cent., or even more, of the numbers on the roll; and the worst cases, with but few exceptions, are those with drunken and idle parents. It is not the children who are in fault, the teachers and attendance officers tell us. In nine cases out of ten it is the parents; father, mother, or both; drink-sodden, lazy or neglectful people, who will not be at the trouble to rise, give the children a meal, and send them off, willing or unwilling, until past the hour when the school-doors are closed.

These children, numbering from 30,000 to 35,000 for the whole of London, are the Achilles heel, the one vulnerable point of the London School Board, which, exemplary in other directions, has hardly fulfilled even its statutory obligations here. In what are known as the *Wastrel Clauses* of the Education Act of 1876, special provision in the form of Day Industrial Schools, is made for neglected children. In these schools simple industrial training, and one or more meals a day (usually three), but not lodging, are provided, in addition to elementary instruction. The children are sent by a magistrate's order for a term of



three years. They go home at night, and special attendance officers are told off, who, if the parent still neglects to cause his child to attend, have power to enter the house and bring it to school. The parent is required to pay a sum not exceeding 2s a week towards the cost of the child in the school. If the parents cannot pay, the Guardians are responsible for the amount. To this the Treasury adds 2s per week, and the School Board makes up the remainder. At the end of six months or so, if the child has attended regularly in the meantime—and it usually has, for parents of this type dislike both the supervision involved, the regular payments, and the loss of the child's services out of school—it is let out "on license;" *i.e.* it returns to the ordinary school, and the parent's payments cease. Should need require, the license can at any time within the three years be revoked, and the child sent back, the payments and supervision recommencing.

These *Wastrel Clauses* have been adopted by all the larger School Boards, London alone excepted, throughout the country, with immense advantage to the class of children whose absence from school is due to the parent's fault rather than to their own. The comparatively small number of wilful truants, easily sifted out, require of course to be differently dealt with. The average cost of a child in these schools is about one-third of that in the ordinary full Industrial School, with the further advantage that instead of being a burden to the rates for three or four years, six months, as a rule, amends the evil, and that at the minimum of interference with the parents or the home, and without withdrawing the child altogether from ordinary free life.

III. *Defects in the Code.*—In the upper-grade schools defects arising from this source would in the main be met by the more general introduction and encouragement of manual training in some form, giving to the child the control of nerve and muscle, hand and eye, in place of that

exclusive cultivation of the brain powers and the memory, hitherto insisted on. In the new Code, now upon its trial, tentative provision in this direction has at last been made. Encouragement to the physical, the practical, and for girls, the domestic side of education, is also needed. It is on children of the lower grade, however, that the defects of the Departmental system of education press most heavily. Practically, in London, two Codes are needed. One for the upper portion of the school population—children of the respectable working class, artisans, mechanics, foremen, small clerks and shop-keepers, postmen, policemen, regular *employés*, &c., about three-fourths of the whole. Another on simpler, more attractive and practical lines for the children of the slums, and those from the poorest homes, where no preparation for the future can be made beyond that which can be given in the schools. Thirty thousand of these children, on the lowest computation, belong distinctly to the residuum class. They form the raw material out of which to a great extent the poverty, misery, and vice of the next generation are being evolved. What they imperatively need, both for their own and the common good, is to be trained in habits of decency, cleanliness, and common self-respect, and to be taught the rudiments of civilized, social, and domestic life. The Code curriculum goes but a little way towards this. Another not less pressing need with children of either the lowest or the poorest class, who have no encouragement at home, is to have school work made attractive to them, so that they may neither hate it while it lasts, nor fling it aside the moment release from attendance comes. The Department has taken little account or none of this, or of other distinctively class requirements. Things useless and distasteful to children of this type have been rigorously exacted, and the crowded Time-table has found no space for those that are needed most.

Every parent of this class is bound to send his child to school. The nation, at a heavy cost, is bound to pay for

its education there. The Department is equally bound to see to it that the education given is fitted to the child's condition and its needs. A more detailed acquaintance with that condition, and with the needs arising out of it, is required for this. Bearing in mind that a London slum child costs the community from £28 to £35 in its school stage, and that the adult residuum, recruited largely from children of this class, is a perpetual drain on industrial resource, the importance of such knowledge, from an economic point of view, may be fairly urged.

From the eighty-six schools visited and inspected for the purpose of this inquiry, six of the lower grade were selected for more detailed analysis. Twelve departments—Boys', Girls', and Infants', containing 3461 children in all, were taken child by child, and by the aid of teachers and attendance officers the condition of each child, both in school and at home, was arrived at.

The tables which follow give the results, and have been arranged in order of poverty, thus:—

Class.	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.	No. 4.	No. 5.	No. 6.	Average.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
A .....	2·3	0·3	—	0·5	0·3	1·2	0·8
B .....	29·3	37·7	40·5	52·5	32·0	33·2	37·2
C .....	56·3	30·2	32·1	17·3	26·8	25·9	27·6
D .....	9·8	25·9	17·4	17·9	29·0	26·6	23·8
Total of poverty	97·7	94·1	90·0	88·2	88·1	86·9	89·4
E .....	2·3	5·4	10·0	10·9	11·4	12·4	9·9
F .....	—	0·5	—	0·9	0·5	0·7	0·7
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	West	Central	East	Central	East	West	
	South of the Thames.			North of the Thames.			

It is to be noted that the North Central London School, although it stands fourth on the list for volume of poverty,



stands highest in degree, drawing more than half its children from Class B.

The particulars given show for each class in each school—

- (1) The proportion with both father and mother, and those with one parent or guardian only.
- (2) Health, and condition as to employment.
- (3) The character of the father.
- (4) The character of the mother.
- (5) Habits of intemperance of father and mother.
- (6) The regularity or irregularity of attendance.
- (7) Fees remitted and meals given.
- (8) The condition in which the children come to school.

The results may be compared as follows:—

(1.)—*Children having*

School No.		Father and Mother.		Father only.		Mother only.				Total No. of Children.
		Per cent.		Per cent.		Per cent.				
School No. 1	...	84.6	...	5.6	...	9.8	= 100	...		215
" 2	...	86.7	...	3.3	...	9.5	= 100	...		580
" 3	...	85.3	...	6.8	...	7.9	= 100	...		190
" 4	...	79.9	...	4.3	...	15.8	= 100	...		607
" 5	...	88.8	...	3.2	...	8.0	= 100	...		646
" 6	...	91.2	...	2.3	...	6.5	= 100	...		1223
Average	...	87.4	...	3.5	...	9.1	= 100	...	Total	3461

It will be seen that the Central London School, No. 4, with its deep poverty, has by far the largest proportion of fatherless children, and that otherwise the order of poverty coincides with the number of widows among the parents.

(2.)—*Health and Employment of the Parents.*

School No.		Ill or delicate. Either or both.		Father out of work.		Wives work.	
		Per cent.		Per cent.		Per cent.	
School No. 1	...	7.0	...	4.2	...	17.2	
" 2	...	7.9	...	3.1	...	36.0	
" 3	...	2.6	...	2.6	...	48.4	
" 4	...	6.1	...	4.9	...	34.3	
" 5	...	3.1	...	2.2	...	22.4	
" 6	...	5.6	...	2.5	...	29.5	
Average	...	5.5	...	3.3	...	30.9	

Beyond the enormous proportion of those whose mothers work in No. 3 (South-East London), employment for women being abundant here, what is chiefly remarkable is the small proportion whose fathers are out of work. Again it will be seen that No. 4 (North Central) leads, and so further explains the intensity of its poverty, whilst No. 1 (South-West London) again comes second.

(3.)—*Character of the Father.*

			Good.		Fair.		Indifferent.		Bad.	
			Per cent.		Per cent.		Per cent.		Per cent.	
School No. 1	...	...	5.2	...	59.8	...	20.6	...	14.4	= 100
„ 2	...	...	32.9	...	49.7	...	9.5	...	7.9	= 100
„ 3	...	...	15.4	...	54.3	...	19.4	...	10.9	= 100
„ 4	...	...	29.0	...	54.8	...	11.1	...	5.1	= 100
„ 5	...	...	37.8	...	47.7	...	7.1	...	7.4	= 100
„ 6	...	...	59.0	...	17.1	...	17.6	...	6.3	= 100
Average	...	...	39.9	...	39.2	...	13.5	...	7.4	= 100

No. 4 comes out better than some of its neighbours, and altogether there is little here to support the view that the “poor in the lump are bad.” They seem a little worse south than north of the Thames, but that may be an accident. It is remarkable that character all through should appear worse in proportion to the distance from Charing Cross.

(4.)—*Character of the Mother.*

			Good.		Fair.		Indifferent.		Bad.	
			Per cent.		Per cent.		Per cent.		Per cent.	
School No. 1	...	...	15.8	...	55.1	...	15.8	...	13.3	= 100
„ 2	...	...	41.8	...	37.8	...	14.7	...	5.7	= 100
„ 3	...	...	22.0	...	39.5	...	11.3	...	27.2	= 100
„ 4	...	...	28.6	...	53.5	...	12.9	...	5.0	= 100
„ 5	...	...	40.3	...	40.3	...	11.9	...	7.5	= 100
„ 6	...	...	61.8	...	16.4	...	16.4	...	5.4	= 100
Average...	...	...	43.8	...	34.5	...	14.3	...	7.4	= 100

It is to be noted that the extraordinary number of “bad” mothers in No. 3 (South-East London) coincides with the very large proportion of “working wives” shown on

Table (2). Many of these women do casual work, not for a livelihood, but to secure money for drink. The percentage of "bad" mothers is on the whole the same to a fraction as of "bad" fathers.

(5.)—*Habits of Intemperance of Father or Mother.*

			Father.		Mother.
			Per cent.		Per cent.
School No. 1	...	...	12·9	...	8·3
" 2	...	...	3·8	...	5·4
" 3	...	...	5·0	...	15·3
" 4	...	...	4·1	...	5·2
" 5	...	...	2·0	...	2·9
" 6	...	...	4·3	...	4·5
Average	...	...	4·3	...	5·3

To some extent this table repeats those which precede it. It may be supposed at least that those who "drink" will be included among the "bad" parents, and if so we may make the following further table of those whose badness as parents takes some other form.

			Father.		Mother.
			Per cent.		Per cent.
No. 1	...	...	—	...	5·0
2	...	...	4·1	...	0·3
3	...	...	5·9	...	11·9
4	...	...	1·0 (minus)	...	0·2
5	...	...	5·4	...	4·6
6	...	...	2·0	...	0·9
Average	...	...	3·1	...	2·1

Some mothers, although  
drunken, are accounted  
not altogether bad.

(6.)—*Regularity or Irregularity of Attendance.*

			Reg.		Fair.		Irreg.	
			Per cent.		Per cent.		Per cent.	
School No. 1	...	...	51·2	...	21·4	...	27·4	= 100
" 2	...	...	62·4	...	24·5	...	13·1	= 100
" 3	...	...	48·4	...	30·6	...	21·0	= 100
" 4	...	...	52·0	...	37·1	...	10·9	= 100
" 5	...	...	60·2	...	26·0	...	13·8	= 100
" 6	...	...	44·7	...	36·3	...	19·0	= 100
Average	...	...	52·5	...	31·3	...	16·2	= 100

No. 4 leads the way with its small percentage of irregular



attendances. Again the order is concurrent with the distance from the centre of London.

(7.)—*Fees remitted and Meals given.*

			Fees.			Meals.
			Per cent.			Per cent.
School No. 1	...	...	74·0	...	...	61·4
„ 2	...	...	52·4	...	...	61·0
„ 3	...	...	62·7	...	...	54·2
„ 4	...	...	25·9	...	...	27·2
„ 5	...	...	44·8	...	...	44·9
„ 6	...	...	45·8	...	...	31·2
Average	...	...	46·1	...	...	41·6

The periods during which fees were remitted varied greatly, and similarly there were differences in regard to the distribution of food. All that can be said is that the children here counted had fees remitted and meals given during some portion of the year. The small proportion in School No. 4, with its great number of very poor children, would seem to indicate exceptionally good management.

(8.)—*Condition in which the Children come to School.*

			Cared for.			Fair.			Poor.		
			Per cent.			Per cent.			Per cent.		
School No. 1	...	...	42·3	...	...	31·2	...	...	26·5	=	100
„ 2	...	...	20·0	...	...	67·3	...	...	12·7	=	100
„ 3	...	...	54·2	...	...	33·2	...	...	12·6	=	100
„ 4	...	...	41·3	...	...	44·2	...	...	14·5	=	100
„ 5	...	...	53·9	...	...	31·1	...	...	15·0	=	100
„ 6	...	...	54·6	...	...	27·0	...	...	18·4	=	100
Average	...	...	45·5	...	...	38·1	...	...	16·4	=	100

			Dull or delicate.			Neglected.
			Per cent.			Per cent.
No. 1	...	...	16·3	...	...	25·6
2	...	...	24·3	...	...	11·2
3	...	...	3·7	...	...	23·7
4	...	...	29·2	...	...	12·0
5	...	...	21·4	...	...	15·5
6	...	...	20·3	...	...	12·5
Average	...	...	21·6	...	...	14·2

Ideas will doubtless differ as to what is meant by “cared

for," but with the exception of No. 2 it will be seen that the figures run pretty evenly. The teacher in No. 2 school has probably adopted a higher standard on this point, with the result that a number of children who would be described as "cared for" in other schools have here been classed as in "fair condition." The proportion of those in poor condition is happily small, considering that these are all schools of the lowest grade; but the number of dull or delicate children is one of the most distressing features of the tables, and, it is to be hoped, is exceptionally high in these cases.

Subjoined are the full tables for these schools. Taken as a whole their tabulated results throw no little light on the condition of the people, especially of the poorer class. The shadows come sharply out. The brighter side, happily the most extensive, makes itself apparent too. Class A is bad throughout; but rising to Class B the balance, both as regards parents and children, inclines to the good. 28 per cent. of the children come to school well cared for, against 21 per cent. who suffer from neglect. 42 per cent. attend well; 21 per cent. attend badly. So with the parents. The good and fairly decent outnumber, though but slightly, those who are indifferent, bad or drunken. The steady improvement, under almost every head, as Classes A and B are left behind, is very noticeable. Attendance, condition, payment of fees, character of parents, all are on the ascending scale. The exception would seem to be the large proportion of bad or drinking mothers in Class E. This is explained if we bear in mind that a drinking father would, as a rule, slip from Class E, to swell the percentage of Classes C or B; while the mother, in like case, would remain in the class indicated by the father's wages. We note, too, the high standard maintained by Class D, which brackets itself throughout, in matters of *morale* especially, with Class E; while Classes C and B pair, as a rule, together:—

Table of Selected Lower Grade Schools.

PARTICULARS OF PARENTS.

PARTICULARS OF CHILDREN.

School.	Class.	Occupation.	Father and Mother.*	Father only.*	Mother only.*	Ill or delicate (either or both).	Out of work.	Wives work.	Character of Father.				Character of Mother.				Attendance.				Condition.				Total.	Percentage.					
									Good.	Fair.	Indifferent.	Bad.	Drink.	Good.	Fair.	Indifferent.	Bad.	Drink.	Regular.	Fair.	Irregular.	Fees remitted.	Meals given.	Cared for.			Fair.	Poor.	Dull or delicate.	Neglected.	
No. 1.—S. West. Boys' Department.	A.	Labourer, blind beggar, loafer	4	—	1	1	—	4	—	—	2	2	1	2	1	—	2	2	—	3	5	5	—	—	5	2	4	5	2·3		
	B.	Potman, gas-stoker, painter, carman, butcher, cabman, tinker	43	2	18	11	1	18	1	14	15	15	11	12	15	19	15	7	22	12	29	61	62	14	20	29	12	34	63	29·3	
	C.	Stoker, carman, waterside-labourer, lighterman, baker	111	8	2	3	8	14	4	85	20	10	13	10	81	13	9	8	68	30	23	89	64	56	43	22	19	16	121	56·3	
	D.	Brewer, ragman, railwayman, porter, shopkeeper, printer	19	2	—	—	—	1	3	15	2	1	—	6	12	—	1	—	14	3	4	3	1	16	4	1	1	1	21	9·8	
	E.	Shopkeeper, foreman, publican	5	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	1	—	—	2	3	—	—	—	4	1	—	1	—	5	—	—	1	—	5	2·3	
No. 2.—S. Central. Boys' and Girls' Departments.	Total.....		182	12	21	15	9	37	10	116	40	28	25	32	112	32	27	17	110	46	59	159	132	91	67	57	35	55	215	160	
	Percentage.....		84·6	5·6	9·8	7·0	4·2	17·2	5·2	59·8	20·6	14·4	12·9	15·8	55·1	15·8	13·3	8·3	51·2	21·4	27·4	74·0	61·4	42·3	31·2	26·5	16·3	25·6	100	—	
	A.	Labourer, hawker, charwoman, warehouseman, waiter	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	65	49	186	191	25	137	57	58	45	219	37·7
	B.	Labourer, hawker, charwoman, warehouseman, waiter	174	3	42	25	9	88	23	102	28	24	15	59	92	45	20	17	105	65	49	186	191	25	137	57	58	45	219	37·7	
	C.	Carman, boxmaker, labourer, furrier, sweep, painter	159	8	8	19	7	82	64	85	9	9	5	76	70	17	4	6	120	42	13	85	100	39	126	10	39	11	175	30·2	
	D.	Labourer, carman, servant, zincworker, packer, hatter	135	10	5	2	—	24	70	60	10	5	—	80	37	18	5	4	110	30	10	23	53	39	107	4	37	5	150	25·9	
	E.	Coster, shopkeeper, engineer, publican	30	1	—	—	—	6	15	13	2	1	—	16	10	2	2	2	25	4	2	7	8	12	18	1	7	3	31	5·4	
	F.	Carman, engineer	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	2	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	3	0·5	
	Total.....		563	22	55	46	16	201	173	261	50	41	20	233	211	82	32	30	362	142	76	304	354	116	396	74	141	65	580	100	
	Percentage.....		86·7	3·8	9·5	7·9	3·1	36·0	32·9	49·7	9·5	7·9	3·8	41·8	37·8	14·7	5·7	5·4	62·4	24·5	13·1	52·4	61·0	20·0	67·3	12·7	24·3	11·2	100	—	

\* In the case of orphans, the persons standing in loco parentis have been counted.



Table of Selected Lower Grade Schools (continued).

PARTICULARS OF PARENTS.

PARTICULARS OF CHILDREN.

School.	Class.	Occupation.	Father and Mother.*	Father only.*	Mother only.*	Ill or delicate (either or both).	Out of work.	Wives work.	Character of Father.				Character of Mother.				Attendance.				Condition.					Total.	Percentage.			
									Good.	Fair.	Indifferent.	Bad.	Drink.	Good.	Fair.	Indifferent.	Bad.	Drink.	Regular.	Fair.	Irregular.	Fees remitted.	Meals given.	Cared for.	Fair.			Poor.	Dull or delicate.	Neglected.
No. 2.—S. East. Girls' Department.	B.	Labourer, drover, hawker, woodchopper, sailor, boot-maker	59	4	14	2	5	47	6	32	15	10	3	10	34	8	21	8	34	29	14	70	67	40	25	12	1	19	77	10.5
	C.	Waterman, labourer, drover, barber, hawker, sweep	56	5	—	1	—	24	6	32	17	6	4	13	16	9	18	10	23	21	17	39	31	26	26	9	3	18	61	32.1
	D.	Labourer, bootmaker, dealer, sailor, engineer, barber	30	2	1	—	—	14	6	21	2	3	2	8	16	3	4	4	23	5	5	7	4	24	6	3	1	5	33	17.4
	E.	Bricklayer, engineer, labourer, caretaker, publican	17	2	—	2	—	7	9	10	—	—	—	8	4	—	5	5	12	3	4	3	1	13	6	—	2	3	19	10.0
		Total.....	162	13	15	5	5	92	27	95	34	19	9	39	70	20	48	27	92	58	40	119	103	103	63	24	7	45	190	100
No. 4.—N. Central. All Departments.		Percentage .....	85.3	6.8	7.9	2.6	2.6	48.4	15.4	54.3	19.4	10.9	5.0	22.6	39.5	11.3	27.2	15.3	48.4	30.6	21.0	62.7	54.2	54.2	33.2	12.6	3.7	23.7	100	—
	A. B.	Picture-frame maker Seamstress, tailor, porter, bootmaker, tinplate- worker, painter	3 217	— 12	— 30	— 32	— 25	2 138	— 31	— 146	— 33	3 15	1 14	— 51	1 193	1 45	1 18	1 19	— 142	— 129	3 48	1 126	1 141	— 95	— 160	3 64	— 110	— 46	3 319	3 52.5
	C.	Labourer, hatter, chair- mender, sailor, carman, printer	91	11	3	4	4	36	15	69	16	2	4	10	55	18	5	6	43	52	10	25	22	31	56	18	31	20	105	17.3
	D.	Bricklayer, porter, tailor, greengrocer, painter, printer	104	2	3	—	1	26	47	52	6	1	1	47	49	9	2	1	75	31	3	4	1	72	37	—	22	1	109	17.9
	E.	Foreman, warehouseman, bookbinder, porter, fish- monger	65	1	—	1	—	6	50	13	2	1	1	47	13	2	3	3	51	13	2	1	—	49	14	3	13	3	66	10.9
	F.	Foreman, printer	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	4	1	—	1	—	5	0.9
		Total . . . . .	485	26	96	37	30	208	148	280	57	26	21	166	311	75	29	30	316	225	66	157	165	251	268	88	177	73	607	100
		Percentage .....	79.9	4.3	15.8	6.1	4.9	34.3	29.0	54.8	11.1	5.1	4.1	28.6	53.5	12.9	5.0	5.2	52.0	37.1	10.9	25.9	27.2	41.3	44.2	14.5	29.2	12.0	100	—

\* In the case of orphans, the persons standing in loco parentis have been counted.

PARTICULARS OF PARENTS.											PARTICULARS OF CHILDREN.																			
School.	Class.	Occupation.	Father and Mother.*	Father only.*	Mother only.*	Ill or delicate (either or both).	Out of work.	Wives work.	Character of Father.				Character of Mother.				Attendance.				Condition.				Total.	Percentage.				
									Good.	Fair.	Indifferent.	Bad.	Drink.	Good.	Fair.	Indifferent.	Bad.	Drink.	Regular.	Fair.	Irregular.	Fees remitted.	Meals given.	Cared for.			Fair.	Poor.	Dull or delicate.	Neglected.
Boys' & Girls' N. East.	A.	Labourer	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	66	—	1	—	—	2	—	1	2	2	0·3
	B.	Labourer, catsneat-man, seaman, coster, boiler-maker	144	11	50	14	6	68	19	92	14	30	2	7	53	86	23	32	11	104	35	176	166	71	82	35	50	205	32·0	
	C.	Labourer, scripture reader, painter, stevedore, hawker	175	3	—	5	7	44	39	110	21	8	2	42	91	30	12	6	83	60	35	99	104	65	82	31	45	32	178	26·8
	D.	Labourer, sawyer, sailor, cigarmaker, lighterman, clerk	180	5	1	—	—	112	64	5	4	3	110	56	11	1	1	144	29	13	9	15	154	25	7	40	9	186	29·0	
	E.	Engineer, lighterman, salter, carman, tailor, clerk, labourer	69	2	—	1	—	3	53	16	2	—	—	45	17	7	—	—	54	11	6	4	4	54	10	7	17	7	71	11·4
	F.	Lighterman, publican, baker	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	4	0·5
No. 6.—N. West.	Total.....		574	21	51	20	13	140	225	284	42	44	12	252	252	74	47	18	389	168	89	289	290	348	201	97	138	100	646	100
	Percentage .....		88·8	3·2	8·0	3·1	2·2	22·4	37·8	47·7	7·1	7·4	2·0	40·3	40·3	11·9	7·5	2·9	60·2	26·0	13·8	44·8	44·9	53·9	31·1	15·0	21·4	15·5	100	—
	A.	Coalheaver, labourer, organ-grinder	15	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	1	14	4	1	—	2	12	2	—	4	11	9	6	1	3	11	2	10	15	1·2
	B.	Hawker, organ-grinder, ragsorter, plasterer, plumber, baker	338	12	50	46	24	126	122	81	112	35	25	174	82	109	23	21	143	164	99	322	257	124	152	130	96	89	406	33·2
	C.	Labourer, painter, scavenger, bricklayer, stone-mason, sailor	301	7	13	11	5	131	156	69	70	13	17	166	68	65	15	19	123	118	76	171	98	143	118	56	60	36	317	25·9
	D.	Labourer, greengrocer, carpenter, fireman, zinc-worker, postman	304	7	15	6	1	71	257	35	14	5	1	259	35	15	10	10	175	111	39	56	29	258	44	23	67	14	325	26·6
	E.	Painter, labourer, cab-driver, saddler, bootmaker, gardener	148	2	2	5	—	130	11	4	5	2	129	11	5	5	2	103	42	6	10	4	133	13	5	21	4	151	12·4	
	F.	Saddler, shopkeeper, laundry	9	—	—	1	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	—	3	5	1	—	—	9	—	2	—	9	0·7	
	Total.....		1115	28	80	69	30	355	674	196	201	72	49	738	196	196	65	54	547	444	232	568	394	668	330	225	248	153	1223	100
	Percentage.....		91·2	2·3	6·5	5·6	2·5	29·5	59·0	17·1	17·6	6·3	4·3	61·8	16·4	16·4	5·4	4·5	44·7	36·3	19·0	46·4	32·2	54·6	27·0	18·4	20·3	12·5	100	—

\* In the case of orphans, the persons standing *in loco parentis* have been counted.

# Summary of Selected Lower Grade Schools.

## PARTICULARS OF PARENTS.

## PARTICULARS OF CHILDREN.

Class.	Occupation.	Father and Mother.	Father only.	Mother only.	Ill or delicate (either or both).	Out of work.	Wives work.	Character of Father.				Character of Mother.				Attendance			Meals given.	Condition.			Neglected.	Total.	Per cent.				
								Good.	Fair.	Indifferent.	Bad.	Drink.	Good.	Fair.	Indifferent.	Bad.	Drink.	Regular.		Fair.	Irregular.	Cared for.				Fair.	Poor.	Dull or delicate.	
A.	Coalheaver, labourer, organ grinder, picture frame maker, diower, hawker, &c.	26	—	1	1	—	10	—	—	3	23	6	4	3	3	17	5	2	7	18	18	1	6	26	5	19	27	0·8	
B.	Hawker, organ grinder, rag-sorter, plasterer, plumber, baker, seamstress, &c.	975	44	264	130	70	485	202	467	217	133	75	359	502	249	129	83	550	465	274	941	884	369	576	344	312	283	1259	37·2
C.	Labourer, painter, scavenger, bricklayer, stonemason, sailor, hatter, carman, &c.	76·0	3·4	20·6	10·1	6·8	39·1	19·8	45·8	21·3	13·1	7·3	29·0	40·5	20·1	10·4	6·7	42·6	36·1	21·3	73·0	68·6	28·6	44·7	26·7	24·2	22·0	—	—
D.	Labourer, greengrocer, carpenter, fireman, zinc-worker, postman, porter, bricklayer, &c.	92·9	4·4	2·7	4·5	3·3	36·0	30·2	48·2	16·4	5·2	4·8	35·2	41·5	16·5	6·8	5·9	48·1	33·7	18·2	53·1	43·8	37·6	47·1	15·3	20·6	14·0	—	—
E.	Painter, labourer, cab-driver, saddler, bootmaker, gardener, foreman, porter, &c.	93·6	3·4	3·0	0·9	0·3	20·2	62·0	30·8	4·9	2·3	0·8	64·0	25·8	7·4	2·8	2·5	65·6	25·4	9·0	12·4	12·5	68·3	27·1	4·6	20·4	4·2	—	—
F.	Saddler, shopkeeper, laundry, foreman, printer, carman, engineer, baker, &c.	97·1	2·3	0·6	2·7	—	13·7	75·8	19·0	3·2	2·0	0·9	73·5	17·1	5·0	4·4	3·6	72·6	21·6	5·8	7·6	5·0	77·5	17·7	4·8	17·7	5·8	—	—
	Total .....	3021	122	318	192	103	1033	1257	1232	424	230	136	1460	1152	479	248	176	1816	1083	562	1506	1441	1577	1319	565	746	491	3461	100
	Percentage .....	87·4	3·5	9·1	5·5	3·3	30·9	39·9	39·2	13·5	7·4	4·3	43·8	34·5	14·3	7·4	5·3	52·5	31·3	16·2	46·1	41·6	45·5	38·1	16·4	21·6	14·2	—	—



The extracts which follow, one for each of the six schools, are taken as they occur on the roll, each series just as it was set down, and will show the exact nature of the information on which the tables given above are based :—

Class.	Occupation.		Character.		Remarks on Parents.	Attend- ance.	Remitted Fees.	Meals.	Condition of Child.	Remarks on Child.
	Father.	Mother.	Father.	Mother.						
C	Gasman	—	Unsatisfactory	Decent and thrifty	Man earns 14s a week, abuses wife	Good	—	—	Fair	Medal, quick, good
D	Printer	—	Decent	—	Man come down	Bad	—	—	Fair	Good boy, weakly
B	Labourer	—	Bad	Bad	Everything bad, 10 children	Fair	Remitted	Given	Dirty	Clean, cared for, quick, nice
E	Shop	—	Good	Good	Good circumstances	Good	—	—	Clean	boy
B	Gas	—	Fair	Lazy	Large family	Bad	Remitted	Given	Fair	Kept from school to work
B	Loafer	Washes	Bad	Dirty and shiftless	Lazy people, make the chil- dren beg	Bad	Remitted	Given	Bad	Kept from school to work
B	Labourer	—	Idle	Doubtful, idle	Poverty, bad home	Bad	Remitted	Given	Poor	Delicate, neglected, dull
D	Painter	—	Drinks, idle	Beaten down	Wife toiled and lost heart	Bad	Remitted	Given	Poor	No chance, weakly, dull, bad boy
C	Labourer	Chars	Good	Good	Striving people	Good	—	—	Clean	Cared for
B	Labourer	—	Bad	Lazy	Both drink	Bad	—	—	Dirty	Neglected, no chance
D	Labourer	—	Good	Good	Mother ill	Good	—	—	Clean	Cared for, delicate, bad eyes
B	Painter	—	Bad	Bad	Both drink	Bad	Remitted	Given	Dirty	Neglected, no chance
D	Mat maker	Chars	Fair	Good	Mother tries	Good	—	—	Clean	Delicate
B	Dead	Dust sorter	—	Doubtful	Wretched home	Bad	Remitted	Given	Poor	Neglected, delicate
B	Labourer	—	Fair	Shiftless	Miserable family, all sickly	Bad	Remitted	Given	Dirty	Neglected
D	Carman	—	Indifferent	Fair	—	Good	—	—	Clean	Cared for
B	Labourer	Chars	Bad	Hard working	Man drinks, pulls home down, mother deserted it and re- turned	Good	Remitted	Given	Poor	Elderest son in prison 7 years
D	Sailor	Chars	Decent	Industrious	Good home, 12 children	Good	—	—	Clean	Cared for
B	Out of work	Chars	Decent	Struggles	Poor, clean	Good	Remitted	—	Clean	Cared for
C	Loafs	Chars	Indifferent	Violent	Poor home	Fair	Remitted	Given	Clean	—
C	Labourer	Chars	Indifferent	Doubtful	Been summoned, pays fine and keeps child at work	Bad	Remitted	—	Clean	Careless parents
B	Out of work	Chars	Incapable	Struggles	Come down, out of heart	Bad	Remitted	Given	Untidy	No clothes, stays in bed with- out them
B	Labourer	—	Shiftless	Shiftless	Miserable home	Bad	Remitted	Given	Untidy	Neglected
E	Shop	Helps	Decent	Strives	Good home	Fair	—	—	Fair	Cared for

Class.	Occupation.		Character.		Remarks on Parents.	Attendance.	Remitted Fees.	Meals.	Condition of Child.	Remarks on Child.
	Father.	Mother.	Father.	Mother.						
4	Factory	—	Good	Good	Shiftless, delicate	Good	—	—	Kept well	Cared for, clean
	Painter	—	Fair	Fair	Struggles, in vain	Fair	Remitted	—	Fair	Neglected
	Dead	Chars	—	Decent	Shiftless people	Poor	Remitted	—	Fair	Delicate, truants
	Shoemaker	—	Fair	Fair	Both drink, no control over child	Good	—	—	Fair	Stunted growth, home neglect
5	Porter	Chars	Bad	Bad	Struggles on	Bad	Remitted	—	Poor	Neglected and disobedient
	Dead	Chars	—	Decent	Striving people	Good	—	Given	Clean	Cared for, delicate
	Labourer	—	Good	Good	Striving	Good	—	—	Clean	Writes with both hands
	Porter	Helps at a market	Good	Good	—	Good	—	—	Clean	Medal
6	Dead	Dead	—	—	Aunt maintains child, strives hard	Good	—	—	Clean	Child gave Jubilee shilling for poor children's dinners
	Labourer	Chars	Good	Good	Struggle	Good	Remitted	Given	Clean	Child gained medal
	Labourer	Dead	Doubtful	—	Bad home	Fair	Remitted	Given	Dirty	Neglected
	Dead	Mangle	—	Good	Striving clever woman, north country	Good	—	—	Clean	Good home
7	Labourer	—	Good	Good	Struggle	Good	Remitted	Given	Clean	Delicate
	Labourer	Chars	Good	Fair	Bad-tempered woman	Good	Remitted	Given	Clean	—
	Artisan	—	Good	Dirty	Shiftless drinking mother	Good	—	—	Fair	Neglected
	Deserted wife	Sews	Bad	Good	Mother strives	Good	Remitted	Given	Clean	Cared for
8	Labourer	Washes	Good	Good	Mother striving and good	Good	—	—	Clean	Well cared for, bright child
	Coal porter	—	Decent	Fair	Large family, shiftless mother, very poor	Fair	Remitted	Given	Dirty	Delicate
	Labourer	Chars	Good	Good	Striving people	Good	—	—	Clean	Cared for
	Loafer	Ironer	Indifferent	Good	Mother tries, children do well	Good	Remitted	Given	Clean	Large family, one child lame through poor nursing
9	Ostler	Washes	Indifferent	Industrious	Man shiftless and lazy, mother hard worker	Fair	—	Given	Clean	Large family, mother does her best
	—	Shop	Good	Good	Mother strives	Good	—	—	Clean	Cared for
	Bricklayer	—	Indifferent	Drinks	Bad mother, dirty home	Bad	—	—	Dirty	Neglected
	Labourer	Chars	Good	Good	Striving people	Good	—	—	Clean	Cared for

## CHAPTER III.

### SECONDARY EDUCATION.\*

---

#### (1.) BOYS.

UNDER the existing conditions of industry, the vast majority of children leave school at the age of twelve or thirteen. The highly organized system of primary schools which provide for the wants of those who finish their school education at this early age has been described in a preceding chapter. The present chapter deals exclusively with schools and institutions which carry on the education of a small minority of children beyond the age of thirteen. They may be roughly divided under two heads—evening classes designed to afford an opportunity to those who have already left school to continue their education, and day schools with a curriculum adapted to pupils who will finish their education at an age varying from fourteen to eighteen, and often connected with primary schools by scholarships and exhibitions. All this system of higher day and evening schools is included under the head of “secondary” education.

Legally it is true that the greater number of evening classes in London are “elementary schools,” being conducted by the London School Board. But under the new Code this term is fast becoming a legal fiction, and under the operation of recent Acts of Parliament which authorize

\* The inquiry on which Chapter III. is based was originally undertaken for the National Association for the Promotion of Technical and Secondary Education, by whose kind permission the results are here published.



the establishment of what are practically "secondary" departments in elementary schools the time seems to be drawing near when the term "elementary school" will have little reference to the character of the instruction or the age of the scholars, but will merely mean a publicly supervised school open to Her Majesty's Inspector and conforming to the requirements of the Education Acts.\* In other words the action of School Boards with regard to education has burst the bounds of elementary instruction, and any complete account of the organization of secondary education ought now to include the continuation classes subsidized by the Education Department.

The present chapter, however, will be chiefly confined to the more important class of day schools designed for boys who can stay at school until an age varying from fourteen to eighteen. There is as yet nothing which can be called an organized system of such schools in London, but a considerable number of endowed schools, scattered irregularly over the Metropolitan area, and the gaps are partly filled by "proprietary" schools managed by Joint Stock Companies, partly by private adventure schools.

It will thus be seen that the distinction between secondary and primary schools is in the first instance educational rather than social. To quote the words of an official report on London secondary schools twenty-two years ago, "the definition of the middle-class child for the purpose of this inquiry disregards in the main the occupation or social position of his parents or next friends, and considers simply up to what age he is intended to be educated."

Of course under existing conditions this distinction carries with it to a great extent a class distinction, so that we may say roughly that *at present* secondary schools mean schools in which the children of clerks, tradesmen, managers, manufacturers, and professional men receive

\* This is especially the case as regards evening schools.

their education. But this is not a fundamental definition, being merely an accident of the existing distribution of wealth, which may cease to hold good when secondary and primary schools are brought fully into touch with each other.

*Endowed Secondary Schools.*—In importance though not in number, these rank first among the secondary schools of London. They are the only class subject directly to any kind of public control, falling under the partial supervision of the Charity Commissioners under two aspects, (1) as Charities (under the Charitable Trusts Acts), (2) as educational endowments (under the Endowed Schools Acts).

There are at present thirty-seven endowed secondary schools for boys in London attended by 12,500 boys. Twenty-five are working under schemes drawn by the Endowed Schools Department of the Charity Commission, three are in a state of transition pending new schemes, and the remainder have not yet been reorganized,\* or are outside the scope of the Department. There are besides a considerable number of un-reformed educational endowments especially in the City parishes which at present support "Parochial," "Charity," "Ward" schools or the like, and which will doubtless in due time become the nucleus of secondary schools under future schemes.

*Proprietary Secondary Schools.*—These are schools managed by Limited Companies. They are a connecting link between public and private schools, being conducted with no view to the profit of the head-master, but in some cases paying a dividend to the shareholders. Sometimes (as in the case of the Church Day Schools Company), the dividend may not exceed 5 per cent., and the surplus yielded by the high fee schools is used as a kind of quasi-endowment of those with lower fees. Sometimes (as at

\* Some of these, as will be seen from the table on pp. 566-571, have been dealt with by the Court of Chancery before the appointment of the Endowed Schools Commission.

Blackheath) no dividend is payable, all surplus funds being applicable to the benefit of the schools.

In other cases, however, the line is very difficult to draw which separates them from schools conducted for private profit. There are at present ten proprietary schools for boys in London, the names of which can be found in the tables on pages 566-571, educating about 1800 boys.

In addition to these there are no fewer than 450 private adventure schools (for boys or girls) enumerated in the London Directory, besides those in the more suburban parts of the Metropolitan area, which are the paradise of the "academies" and "collegiate establishments" where the youth of a large though decreasing section of the middle class receive such education as they have.

The distribution throughout London of secondary boys' schools under some kind of public or semi-public control is shown in detail in the tables on pages 566-571.

The results may be thus summarized :—

School Board District.	Endowed.		Proprietary.		Total.		Per 1000 of population.	
	Accommodation.	Attendance.	Accommodation.	Attendance.	Accommodation.	Attendance.	Accommodation.	Attendance.
City .....	2,250	2,218	—	—	2,250	2,218	53·5	50·1
Westminster ...	1,530	1,351	500	294	2,030	1,645	9·8	7·6
Chelsea .....	1,450	1,191	—	—	1,450	1,191	3·3	2·7
Marylebone ...	1,000	613	1,180	827	2,180	1,440	3·7	2·4
Finsbury.....	1,360	1,350	300	120	1,660	1,470	3·2	2·8
Hackney.....	1,220	1,160	—	—	1,220	1,160	2·8	2·7
Tower Hamlets	1,500	1,151	—	—	1,500	1,151	3·4	2·5
Southwark .....	500	305	—	—	500	305	2·2	1·3
W. Lambeth ...	720	705	160	145	880	850	1·5	1·4
E. Lambeth ...	1,530	1,450	—	—	1,530	1,450	4·3	4·0
Greenwich .....	1,260	926	510	284	1,770	1,210	4·5	3·0

Thus the City is by far the best provided with opportunities for secondary education in proportion to the population. Next follows the School Board district of Westminster at a great distance, while in great parts of South, North, West,



and East London public secondary schools may be said to be practically non-existent.

The distribution of schools does not, however, correspond accurately to the distribution of scholars taking advantage of these schools. In these days of easy communication many of the boys travel a considerable distance to school. This is especially the case where a low-fee'd school has become unsuited to the district in which it is situated (as in the case of the Coopers' Grammar School, in the midst of Ratcliff slums), or of the schools in the City, which is decreasing rapidly in population.

The City schools, including the great Middle-class School in Cowper Street, and the old Mercer's School on College Hill, are mainly fed from a distance, and in any computation of the cost of the education to the parents travelling expenses should be added to the school fee. In residential districts, however, the secondary schools are mainly local in their character, and in several cases actual preference is given by scheme to pupils from neighbouring parishes. Thus to take the Eastern District of the Tower Hamlets and Bethnal Green, the residences of the pupils at five out of the six public secondary schools are given below :—

Residence of Pupils.	Parmiter's School (Bethnal Green).	George Green Schls. (Poplar).	Prisca Co- born School (Bow).	People's Palace Schl. (Mile End).	Whitechapel Foundation School.
Bethnal Green.....	101	—	—	13	2
Poplar .....	—	90	5	27	—
Bow and Bromley ...	11	3	104	90	2
Mile End .....	5	2	36	52	7
Whitechapel.....	—	—	2	4	44
Stepney.....	—	29	8	40	6
St. George's-in-the- East..... }	—	—	—	1	—
Hackney .....	180	2	—	31	—
Essex.....	22	51	45	77	8
Elsewhere.....	2	3	—	9	43
	321	180	200	344	112

These schools appear to be mostly local, except the People's Palace School, which draws from a wide area by means of scholarships.

Of the boys here enumerated, 568 live in the Tower Hamlets, and if we make a conjectural allowance for the school for which no returns are forthcoming,\* and for boys going to schools outside the district, the following rough estimate may be made of the *number* of boys resident in each district of the Tower Hamlets who there or elsewhere attend a public secondary school of some kind.†

Whitechapel. . . . .	100
St. George's-in-the-East . . . . .	20
Stepney . . . . .	150
Mile End Old Town . . . . .	150
Bow and Bromley. . . . .	300
Poplar . . . . .	200
	<hr/>
	920 .

This is a very small proportion of the children of suitable ages. The total number of boys attending such schools within the Tower Hamlets is 1151, the difference being mainly accounted for by an influx to East London schools from neighbouring parts of Essex.

Such being the existing state of facts, we are led to examine more closely the social and economic causes which have led to the present irregular distribution of opportunities of secondary education. Let us glance at the history of a typical endowment.

One day, towards the end of the sixteenth century, as Mistress Alice Wilkes was walking abroad in the fields at Islington she observed a woman milking, and had a mind to try whether she could milk. "At her withdrawing from

\* The Coopers' School, Ratcliff.

† The Tower Hamlets only are included in this estimate, since so many outside schools are so easily accessible to boys living in Hackney, Shore-ditch, &c., that if we included those districts the estimate would be merely conjectural. As it is there is a difficulty in estimating the number of Whitechapel boys attending schools in the City.

the cow," so the story continues, "an arrow was shot through the crown of her hat, which so startled her that she then declared if she lived she would erect something on that spot of ground to commemorate the great mercy shewn by the Almighty in that astonishing deliverance." Accordingly, in 1609, after completing the romance by marrying the archer (who turned out to be Sir Thomas Owen), she granted certain lands, called the Ermitage fields in Islington and Clerkenwell, to the Brewers' Company, for the support of ten poor widows. Four years later she expanded the charity by providing for a "free" school as well as almshouses, and set apart a farm of forty-one acres in Essex for the endowment of the school, to provide instruction for thirty children, twenty-four from Islington and six from Clerkenwell, in "grammar, fair writing, cyphering, and casting of accounts."

To this incident in the life of Lady Owen the districts of Islington and Clerkenwell are indebted for the possession of one of the most efficient secondary schools in London. Had the narrow escape occurred on any other spot Islington might now be as ill-provided as regards secondary schools as the most neglected regions in the North-West of London, while some other districts would be enjoying the educational advantages of "Dame Alice Owen's School."

The total endowment of school and almshouses amounted at first to about £50 a year, of which roughly two-fifths arose from the Essex Farm and was devoted to the school; while the remainder, the proceeds of the Islington land, supported the ten widows. But with the lapse of time the two endowments grew unequally, land in London rising in value far more than in Essex, until there was far too much for the almshouses, and far too little for the school. Accordingly, in 1830, the first readjustment took place, the Master of the Rolls ordering that two-fifths of the whole endowment should henceforth be paid



to the school, as at the time of the foundation. The school was visited in 1865 on behalf of the Schools Inquiry Commission. There were then in attendance 120 boys between the ages of ten and fourteen, chiefly sons of tradesmen in the district. The instruction was gratuitous, and "pretty fair . . . but there might be some improvement in all the subjects taught."\* The endowment was between six and seven hundred pounds a year. Under the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, which followed the report of the Commission, the school was reorganized in 1878 by the Charity Commissioners.

It is now a typical, well-managed secondary school, though sadly cramped for space, having already outgrown the buildings erected in 1881. It is attended by 373 boys, paying fees varying from £4. 10s to £6 a year, of whom about three quarters are still drawn from Islington and Clerkenwell. About one-sixth of the pupils are sons of artisans or foremen, two-thirds are sons of clerks, tradesmen, managers, &c., and the remaining sixth are of the professional class. The school is especially successful in the modern branches of education.

The history of this endowment is a good illustration of the way in which the secondary schools of London have grown up. Endowments have been scattered about in an absolutely haphazard manner according to the whim of founders, and without the least relation to the wants of London as a whole. In Lady Owen's time the idea of a universal system of education had not arisen, and the scattered towns, villages, and hamlets in the neighbourhood of the Cities of London and Westminster had not been joined together as now into one vast London, but were isolated centres each to be treated independently of the others.

In the story of this school, moreover, we see an example of the working of the irresistible economic forces which have tended in course of time to throw charitable endow-

\* Mr. Fearon's Report. Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. X.

ments still more completely out of relation to the needs of their districts, and the purposes for which they were devised. The changes in the distribution of population and wealth which have made the land of London rise in value out of all proportion to that of Essex, are typical of general changes under which the old unrevised endowments became continually more useless for educational purposes as time went on. Meanwhile many of the objects for which bequests used freely to be left, such as legacies for the ransom of Barbary prisoners, or prayers for the soul of the benefactor, had become or were becoming obsolete.

During last century the majority of the old foundations shared the paralysis which fell on other forms of associated effort, and on their decay rose the private adventure schools in which, until the recent revival of endowed schools, most boys of the middle class were educated. The last blow to the usefulness of the unreformed endowments was given by the famous decision of Lord Eldon at the beginning of the present century that the principal object of an endowment providing a grammar school for the poor was the teaching of Latin and Greek rather than the teaching of the poor; that it was nearer the intention of the founder to use the money to teach Latin and Greek to some other class of pupils than to give the class for whose benefit the legacy was designed an education suited to the altered circumstances of the times.\* In the light of this strange interpretation of the doctrine of *cy-près*† it is easy to understand the oft-repeated and not unnatural complaints that have been made of the diversion to other classes of educational charities left for the poor.

At last the growing discrepancy between endowments and

\* Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. I., p. 452. See also Sir Horace Davey's evidence before the Committee on the Endowed Schools Act, 1886.

† *Cy-près*—"as near as possible." In diverting an endowment the new object must be as nearly as possible akin to the old.

the objects for which they were intended, and the failure of the Court of Chancery to provide an adequate remedy, forced the community to interfere in a more drastic manner with the process. The first real step was the passing of the Charitable Trusts Acts of 1853, 1855, and 1860, which, taken together, gave power to a newly-formed Charity Commission to revise educational endowments in common with other charities. Under these Acts a considerable number of schools were reformed, including several London schools, such as the Lewisham Grammar School and the Godolphin School, Hammersmith. The Charity Commission proved far more effective than Chancery for the work they had in hand; they formed "an amicable tribunal of reconciliation rather than of litigation," and proceedings were accelerated and reduced in cost. But their jurisdiction over schools under this Act was very restricted. They could inquire into charities and compel the production of accounts, and facilitate and simplify the procedure for the execution of schemes. But their power to adapt charities to altered circumstances was strictly limited by the doctrine of *cy-près*. They were capable of "altering trusts which cannot be executed (or at any rate not without manifest absurdity); but not of altering trusts which can."\* Even within these limits the Charity Commission could not easily take steps beyond inquiry without a local initiative.

These powers being insufficient, a temporary commission of three under the name of the Endowed Schools Commission was appointed in 1869, with power to revise educational endowments and with the consent of the trustees to divert to education endowments the purpose of which had failed. In such cases due regard was to be paid to the interests of the locality and the class of persons for whose benefit the endowment had been left, a rather puzzling task in the case of legacies for ransoming Barbary prisoners,

\* Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. I., p. 632.



or for destroying lady-birds in Cornhill. The new Commission was unfettered by the necessity for a local initiative or by the restraints of the doctrine of *cy-près*. The Act appointing the Endowed Schools Commission was succeeded in the following year (1870) by Mr. Forster's Elementary Education Act, which provided for the organization of primary education. The new Commission and the first London School Board began therefore the reorganization of London schools about the same time, and at first their functions slightly overlapped, since endowments for elementary schools came at the beginning under the purview of the Commission. In the year 1873, however, an amending Act was passed relieving the Endowed Schools Commission of all matters relating to endowments of less than £100 a year attached to elementary schools.

In the early days of the Endowed Schools Commission a good deal of opposition was offered to their action, and a few schemes were even rejected by the House of Lords. One of the most fiercely contested schemes was that for Emanuel Hospital, Clapham. In London only one endowed school (Tenison's School) was revised until 1873. This was the year of greatest activity in the reform of London endowments, no fewer than nine important boys' schools being launched on a new career with revised schemes.\*

The need for "eternal vigilance" over endowments if they are to be an aid instead of an impediment to education is seen in the fact that six out of these nine schemes have since had to be amended in detail, four of them twice. Of the other three schemes one has been altogether superseded, one is now in process of revision, and the

\* Viz.: The Grocers' School, Hackney; Sir W. St. John's Upper School, Battersea; ditto, Middle School, Battersea; the Roan School, Greenwich; Aske's School, Hatcham; the Haberdashers' School, Hoxton; the Prisca Coborn School, Bow; the Emanuel School, Clapham; and the United Westminster Schools.

remaining scheme will probably soon be recast. This is said less as a reflection on the character of the original schemes than as a tribute to the energy of the Commissioners; but the fact proves amply the necessity for a permanent department, charged with the work of constantly adapting schools to altered conditions, whether by scheme or by some simpler process. The authority for this purpose should however be local rather than central.

On the expiration of the term of office of the Endowed Schools Commissioners in 1874, they were not reappointed, but their powers were transferred to an Endowed Schools Department of the Charity Commission.

The following table shows the progress of the Charity Commission in dealing with boys' schools since the change in 1874.

*Schemes approved.*

- 1875. St. Clement Danes (Holborn Estate Grammar School).
  - 1876. St. Paul's School. Superseded, 1879.
  - 1878. Dame Alice Owen School, Islington. Amended, 1879 and 1886.
  - 1880. Camberwell Grammar School.
  - 1882. Alleyn's School, Dulwich.
  - 1883. St. Dunstan's College. Amended, 1887.  
George Green Schools, Poplar.
  - 1884. Parmiter's Foundation School, Bethnal Green.
  - 1887. Colfe's Grammar School, Lewisham.
  - 1888. Stationers' School, Bolt Court, E.C.
  - 1888. Whitechapel Foundation School.
  - 1890. St. Olave's Grammar School, Southwark.
  - 1890. Christ's Hospital.
  - 1891. Central Foundation Schools (Cowper Street Schools and certain other foundations combined).
-

*Schemes published, but not yet in force.*

St. Saviour's Grammar School, Southwark.

Coopers' Grammar School, Stepney ; and

Prisca Coborn School, Bow (to be united).

---

There are in all 117 endowments in London subject to the Endowed Schools Acts, of which about 60 have been revised by the Commission, and a few are now in a state of transition. Those given above only include *boys'* secondary schools.

Thus the Commissioners have now been at work for twenty years striving to overtake the constantly accumulating work of revision of Endowments. They have done much, but now that their earlier schemes themselves require revision the task has outgrown the power of a central department.

The schools enumerated in the table on p. 538, provide for the most part a modern or semi-classical education, the curriculum consisting of the ordinary English subjects, two foreign languages, *e.g.* French and Latin or German, with mathematics, drawing, and natural science. Book-keeping and shorthand are sometimes added, and occasionally Greek is taught to a few of the boys. On the whole the arrangements for practical science instruction are very inadequate, and manual work, though contemplated in several of the later schemes, has as yet made little progress, except in a few cases, such as the United Westminster and Cowper Street Schools. Scientific and technical departments could, however, be easily grafted on to many of these schools, and would in many cases be welcomed by the headmasters if the necessary funds for building and maintenance were forthcoming. Such departments would serve as a useful corrective to the bias now given by many of these schools to their pupils towards the career of a clerk, and would probably form a far better channel for the effec-



tive introduction of technical instruction than would be afforded by the creation of new institutions on a great scale irrespective of the existing network of secondary schools. On the whole, these schools, though of course varying very greatly among themselves in efficiency, are doing a great and little recognized work among a class whose education has been more neglected than that of any other section of the people. The greatest evils, next to the insufficiency of their number, are their isolation and want of co-ordination, and the irregular distribution of endowments.

The mass of the pupils are between the ages of 8 and 15. Some schools fix the lower limit at 7, and a few pupils stay beyond 15.

An analysis of the occupations of the parents of children in three endowed schools in the Eastern district gives the following result :—

	I.	II	III.	Total.	Percentages.
Professional .....	31	26	4	61	10
Middle class .....	243	129	87	459	74
Working class .....	47	32	21	100	16
	321	187	112	620	100

The estimate is only rough, for it is, of course, very difficult in many cases to draw the line accurately between professional, middle, and working class, since the books of the schools only record occupation, and many occupations do not correspond closely to a particular social class. The majority of the professional class who attend such schools are the sons of clergymen, doctors, accountants, and schoolmasters ; while licensed victuallers are prominent among the parents of the middle class, besides, of course, clerks, shopkeepers, managers, agents, and officials.

The working-class contribution to the pupils of secondary schools is drawn almost purely from the upper stratum, as will be seen from the following analysis of occupations of



their original system of government. Until last year, when a new scheme came into force, the governors of St. Olave's Grammar School, Southwark, were sixteen members of the Church of England, residing, carrying on business, or rated in the parish. The original sixteen were appointed by letters patent of Elizabeth, and the survivors have filled vacancies ever since by co-optation. The governing body of St. Saviour's School, Southwark, is chosen in much the same way—the survivors being, however, assisted in the selection of new governors by "twelve discreet parishioners" whom they themselves nominate.

Most of the schools working under schemes of the Endowed Schools or Charity Commissioners are managed by mixed bodies of governors chosen in various ways, with an attempt at securing some degree of popular representation. Since the report of the Select Committee of 1886 on the Endowed Schools Acts,\* the policy of the Commissioners has tended towards an increase in this popular element, but direct election by the ratepayers has never been resorted to in London. The scheme approved in 1888 for the Whitechapel Foundation School may afford us a specimen of the present policy of the Commissioners with respect to the constitution of governing bodies.

The Board consists of 16 members, appointed as follows:—

- 5 by the Vestry of St. Mary, Whitechapel.
- 1 „ Tower Hamlets Members of the London School Board.
- 2 „ Justices of the Peace for the Tower Hamlets.
- 1 „ Central Governing Body of the City Parochial Charities (when constituted).

7 by Co-optation.

Here 6 out of 9 of the nominated members are chosen by popularly elected local boards, so that a majority of popular

\* Report of Committee, p. xiii.: "That the sympathies of localities should be enlisted by giving to the people a large share in the management by representation, either direct or indirect."



representatives may be said to be ensured on the whole governing body. Schools like this are, therefore, already under quasi-municipal control; and it would be but a step, if desired, to substitute a joint committee of the County Council and vestry or district council, and so draw the schools into the main stream of municipal life.

Proprietary schools are, of course, managed by the directors of the company or a committee responsible to them.

*Private Schools.*—Allusion has already been made to the existence of a large number of private schools conducted for the profit of the master. It is impossible to speak with any exactitude of the condition of the mass of these schools, as many of them are unwilling to furnish returns, and the facts given by those which supply particulars cannot be regarded as representative of the whole. Many of these schools are mere mushroom growths. A comparison of the lists of private schools mentioned in the London Directory for 1889 and 1890, respectively, shows the disappearance of 71 schools and the establishment of 38 in the interval.

The decrease in number shows how private schools are affected by the extension of Board schools on the one hand, and the revival of endowed schools on the other. Thirty years ago, when St. Olave's Grammar School was at a low point, there were nine flourishing private schools in the parish; now St. Olave's educates several hundreds of boys, and all the private schools have disappeared. Many of the existing private schools are "dames'" schools, preparatory to entering a secondary school; some are survivals, not yet crushed out, of the private elementary school of the pre-School Board age. The teachers of the latter schools feel the competition of the public elementary school very keenly, and cordially detest the School Board. That the crushing-out process, however painful, is in some cases necessary is sufficiently obvious from the following letter which I received in answer to an application for

information from a private school, which, however, is of course not to be regarded as representative of its class :—

“ Sir

I should feel great pleasure in sending you one of my circulars I am sorry to say my School is closed The board shools has closed many

yours respectflly ”

Other private schools are preparatory institutions for the great public schools.

Of the real secondary private schools many are well conducted and fulfil a useful function. Such schools, however, as a whole, are vastly inferior to publicly managed schools. The private schoolmaster has to maintain appearances amid increasing difficulties. His fees must compete with those of the endowed secondary school, and he must often accommodate parents who wish to drive a hard bargain for the second boy sent to the school, on pain of losing the third and fourth of the family. In extreme cases he may have even to arrange “reciprocal terms” with the butcher and grocer.\* He must consult the wishes of individual parents far more than the master of a public school, and this has doubtless a good side, since it prevents a private schoolmaster from getting out of touch with the wants of his circle of clients. But the pressure to which he is liable and which he cannot afford to withstand is often most unhealthy, while as his object must be to make profit there is an almost irresistible temptation to raise fees, as soon as the school succeeds, and so place the school out of the reach of the class who need it most.

The number of subjects of instruction advertised in many private school prospectuses is absurdly large and out of all proportion to the capacities of the teaching staff or the possible income to be derived from pupils’ fees. Many of these subjects must be badly taught, many are never

\* See *Daily Telegraph* (Educational Advertisements), April, 1888.

taught at all. In one case the master admitted that all he could do was to refer pupils who asked for some of the subjects advertised, to institutions where they could obtain the instruction they required. The degrees attached to the names of many private schoolmasters are puzzling in the extreme. Such titles as F.S.Sc. (Lond.), and other wonderful permutations and combinations of letters, are of frequent occurrence. A thriving trade is done by agencies for the sale of degrees. While writing the present article I have received an invitation to become a member of a Society which in return for a modest subscription of 10s 6d confers among other privileges the right to use the letters "M.S.L.". "F.S.L." is a higher degree in this Society reserved for "active members." Diplomas, however worthless (especially the more expensive kind which carry with them the title of "Doctor"), impose on a large class of parents who in the absence of any real guarantee of efficiency in the schools to which they send their children, and of the leisure and capacity to make investigation for themselves, have no other measure of the value of the teaching than the pretensions of the teacher.

Registration of teachers would do something to meet this evil, which is by no means entirely confined to private schools.

*Cost and Fees of Secondary Schools.*—The cost of the education given in a secondary school varies of course with the breadth of the curriculum, the standard of the instruction, and the character and position of the buildings and apparatus. It is best for the purpose of this inquiry to exclude the upper class school where the expenditure is only limited by the fancy fees which parents can be induced to pay. Omitting also rent for buildings and land, which varies greatly with the situation of the school, and supposing that the initial cost of building has been defrayed, the average annual cost of a moderate-sized secondary school as carried on at present in London



appears from a comparison of the accounts of a number of schools to be about £9 per head.\* Doubtless, under an organized system, we should be able to reduce many items of expense, the difference representing the waste and "leakage," due to the absence of co-ordination. On the other hand, many of the salaries paid to assistant masters are wretchedly insufficient, and it would be good economy, if the funds were forthcoming, to increase the expenditure on the salaries of the permanent staff.

The cost of maintenance of the schools is met from three main sources: scholars' fees, endowments or subscriptions, and grants from the Science and Art Department. The proportions in which these three sources contribute to the school funds vary greatly from school to school, and have, as will be seen, a marked influence on the character of the work. Some (like the schools of the Boys' Public Day School Company) are self-supporting by their fees; some (like Christ's Hospital before its reorganization) are almost entirely supported by endowment; some (like the People's Palace Day School) draw a large part of their income from Science and Art grants.

An examination of the accounts of six endowed boys' schools working under schemes in various parts of London gives the following results:—

Postal District.		Total income per head.			Endowment per head.			Income from Scholars per head.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
(1)	E.	8	4	0	5	1	0	3	3	0
(2)	E.	8	10	0	6	1	0	2	9	0
(3)	N.E.	10	18	0	3	15	0	7	3	0
(4)	S.E.	8	10	0	0	14	0	7	16	0
(5)	S.E.	8	13	0	2	17	6	5	15	6
(6)	S.W.	7	3	0	1	9	0	5	14	0

In all these schools the endowments or the fees are too large to allow them to earn any grant from the Science and

\* This includes rates and taxes, and repairs.

Art Department. The proportion of the annual expenditure devoted to salaries of masters and to other purposes is shown in the following table:—

Postal District.	* Expenditure per head.			Do. on Head-Masters' Salary.			Do. on Assistant-Masters' Salary.			Do. on other purposes.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
(1) E.	8	4	0	1	17	0	3	9	0	2	18	0
(2) E.	8	10	0	2	4	0†	2	8	10	3	17	2
(3) N.E.	12	4	0	1	10	0	5	9	0	5	5	0
(4) S.E.	8	10	0	1	16	0†	3	18	6	4	15	6
(5) S.E.	8	5	0	1	15	6	3	11	0	2	15	6
(6) S.W.	7	11	0			5 6 0				2	18	6
										2	5	6

In most cases the head-master's salary is arranged on a sliding scale, consisting of £100 or more fixed, and a capitation fee of £1. 10s to £2 for every boy in the school—a form of “payment on results,” which is free from many of the objections urged against salaries based on results of examination.

Proprietary schools do not differ essentially from endowed schools in the amount and distribution of their annual expenditure, but the income is all raised from the pupils, or from annual subscriptions, while in those which are a commercial speculation there may be a surplus to divide among the shareholders. In a school managed on commercial principles there is naturally a strong incentive to economy, especially in the matter of expenditure on buildings. No Schools Company would be likely to imitate the governors of St. Olave's Grammar School and build a splendid Elizabethan mansion, with carved staircases, blazoned windows, and panelled rooms, but without proper accommodation for teaching. Still the educational

\* This is, as a rule, rather greater than the total income shown in the preceding table, showing that the schools have been drawing on their capital to a small extent.

† In these cases the head-master has a house, rent free, which is not included in the estimate.

value of a beautiful building is not to be ignored, and in so far as commercial management leads to the erection of ugly barrack-like structures the economy has its disadvantages. And there is moreover one fatal drawback to the self-supporting secondary school considered as a link in our educational machinery. It cannot adapt its fees to the wants of particular districts, being dependent on this income entirely for its financial success. Now, without starving the instruction, a secondary school of 300 boys cannot be carried on in London at an annual cost of less than £8 a head, and there is abundant evidence that in poorer districts, such as nearly the whole of the eastern postal district, an inclusive fee of £5 is the upper limit of the fee which can be charged in order to fill the schools.

Thus the Parmiter School in Bethnal Green is always crowded at a fee of £3. 15s, while the George Green Schools at Poplar, giving an education of the same kind, planted in a district of a similar character and drawing scholars from the same class, is never quite full at a fee of £6. It is clear then, that in a working class district there is a considerable class of parents who will pay a fee of £4, but will not pay £6. If, then, it is desired to reach this class the school cannot be self-supporting by its fees, and any institution which attempts the task will share the failure which attended the old Stepney Proprietary School. Proprietary schools may, therefore, continue to form a useful part of our secondary machinery for many years to come in suburban and moderately well-to-do districts where parents will pay a £9 fee, but they cannot solve the problem of continuing the work of elementary schools, unless, indeed, they may come to share in a general system of endowment by means of scholarships or otherwise.

The dependence, however, of proprietary schools on fees saves them at least from one danger which attends permanent endowments in the absence of continual and effective



supervision on the part of the governing body or some outside authority. The effect of such endowments may be to root in a particular neighbourhood, the conditions and wants of which are rapidly changing, a school which is too little dependent on fees to be compelled to change with the times. The remedy lies in a greater elasticity of scheme, and the free use by the Charity Commission or, still better, by the local authority, of powers of altering schemes or even of moving the whole endowment. The reality however of the evil and the length of time which may elapse before it can be remedied even in flagrant cases through the existing machinery, may be made clear by the history of an old unreformed free school in the East End.

It was founded early in the seventeenth century, five tenements in the City being given to one of the wealthiest of the City Companies out of which almshouses and a free school should be provided for the boys of the neighbourhood. In spite of the enormous increase of the value of the proceeds of the property, the company have only devoted a very small portion to the school, and an attempt to compel them to use the remainder for the benefit of the parish was refused some sixty years ago by the Court of Chancery. It would seem that the fact of a surplus, however small, being originally left to the company entitled them legally to absorb for their own use the whole of the increase.\*

In 1865, when visited on behalf of the Schools Inquiry Commission, the school was far below the level of a primary school, was reported to be doing "quite as much harm as good to the education of the locality," and was further described in trenchant terms; yet when a few months ago I wrote to the school to make inquiries, I received an answer from the *same master* who received the Commissioner, the school having steadily declined during the

\* Report of Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities (June 30th, 1837).

intervening quarter of a century.\* Fortunately, the school has now at last been reached by the Charity Commission, and the endowment, "enlarged out of the company's corporate funds," is about to be used for scholarships to connect elementary and secondary schools in the neighbourhood.

Besides fees and endowment there is a third source of income mentioned above which is available for schools whose pupils belong to a class in which the family income is less than £400 a year.†

For the past forty years the Science and Art Department has given grants on the results of examination in various branches of science and art. The system was originally devised for the promotion of evening schools and classes. There was, however, no express refusal to aid day schools, and of late years a number of day schools for boys of from twelve to fourteen or fifteen have been started, basing their curriculum on the syllabus of the Department so as to earn a considerable proportion of the cost of maintenance by means of grants. The object of these technical schools is not to train the pupils in any particular trade but to give a general ground-work of scientific knowledge and proficiency in drawing and other manual work which will aid them in many branches of industry, and (what is still more important) give them a *bias* during school life towards manual occupations rather than towards the career of a clerk. The most conspicuous example of such a school in London is the day school at the People's Palace in the Mile End Road, where the curriculum is almost entirely composed of subjects taken from the Science and Art Directory. In that school the fees are nominal, half the pupils or more being admitted free by scholarships.

The absorption of a large proportion of the Science and

\* Schools Inquiry Commission, Vol. X., p. 82.

† The limit was £200 until last year.

Art grant every year by day schools of this pattern was not contemplated when the scheme of grants was devised, and it becomes a serious question how far the system is adapted to boys of twelve to fourteen. Already it has been modified to some extent to meet the altered conditions, by the introduction of capitation grants for schools which (like the People's Palace) provide an organized system of science instruction. But the main principle is still payment on results of examination.

It may be wondered how boys at so early an age can be made to hold their own with evening students of sixteen to twenty in the Science and Art Department's examinations. But what they lack in age they make up in the length of continuous study which is possible in a day school. The result is that a kind of equilibrium is set up between the more desultory evening work of older students and the continuous day work of young boys.

On the whole, experience seems to show that Science and Art grants to day schools are useful so long as they form a comparatively small part of a school's income, the examinations being used as a test of the work, rather than (primarily) as a means of financial support. But as soon as these grants supply the main part of a school's income, there is an almost irresistible tendency to work for the grant instead of considering the best interests of the boys. Subjects on which grants are not forthcoming are crushed out, and the curriculum instead of forming a really educational course is composed of a collection of Science and Art "subjects" taught according to a syllabus devised for pupils of a different age.

Without, therefore, denying the great amount of good work done under this system the apparently paradoxical conclusion is forced upon us, that it is not safe for any day school to rely on Science and Art grants as a source of income unless it is in a position to dispense with them. Within the next few years there will probably



be a radical readjustment of the method on which the Imperial payments for Science and Art instruction are distributed to day schools. The present time is one of transition, when the theory of the restriction of public aid to primary instruction has been eaten away by the expansion of the work of elementary schools on the one hand, and the subsidies given to Science and Art teaching, and to technical, commercial, and agricultural instruction on the other; without however the direct recognition in a broad sense of any duty of the State, centrally or otherwise, towards the general work of secondary education. While this lasts such schools as those we are considering must occupy an anomalous position and be shorn of half their usefulness. So soon as the claims of secondary education are frankly recognized the work of the Science and Art Department may take its proper place in an organized scheme, and it will no longer be necessary to teach applied mechanics from a cram text-book to boys of 13, with the vaguest knowledge of scientific principles, in order to save a school from bankruptcy.

*Linkage.* — Having reviewed the existing system of secondary schools in London, we have still to discuss their connection with elementary schools.

The principal way in which the two classes of schools are linked together is by means of scholarships and exhibitions. There are about 600 or 700 such scholarships for elementary scholars attached to public secondary schools in London, of which about half are localized: *i.e.* restricted, at all events in the first instance, to scholars from certain specified parishes. More often however than not, the required number of applicants do not present themselves from the favoured district, in which case the scholarships are thrown open to candidates from other parts of London, or even to boys already in the secondary school.

These scholarships vary in value from mere remission of the whole or part of the fees, up to sums of £20 a year or more.

There are, in addition, a considerable number of scholarships and exhibitions tenable at efficient secondary schools, either on independent foundations, such as "Starling's Charity," or attached to special elementary schools, or in the hands of the London School Board.\* Many scholarship foundations have been created of late years by the Charity Commission, by the conversion of local endowments, too small to be of real use in other ways to the districts to which they are attached, into scholarships open to boys in the district and tenable at schools outside. In this way the foundation of Sir John Jolles, at Bow, is now in process of conversion into scholarships tenable at neighbouring schools. A good example of these scholarship-charities is Sir William Boreman's foundation in Greenwich, which has been devoted, since 1886, to providing scholarships for about one hundred elementary scholars to the Upper Nautical School of Greenwich Hospital. Under the amended scheme (August, 1889), these scholarships are restricted to candidates from the public elementary schools of a single parish. As a considerable number of scholarship charities were established under the Charitable Trusts Acts before the appointment of the Endowed Schools Commission, and no complete list of these earlier foundations can be obtained, it is impossible to estimate the total number of scholarships at present in existence connecting elementary and secondary schools in London. It is however probably under 1000.

The foundation of scholarships has been freely used by the Charity Commissioners as a means of compounding the claims of special districts and special classes to the benefits

\* The number in the hands of the Board varies from year to year, several of the scholarships being given for a single term by City Companies, and afterwards renewed or not as the case may be. About fifteen to twenty are awarded to boys each year, indicating an approximate total of about fifty to sixty scholarships. Several of these scholarships are of the value of £30 a year.

of the reorganized endowments. Thus the Parmiter's School, which was formerly a free school for boys from Bethnal Green, and is now a fee-paying school open to all comers,\* retains something of its former local character, and safeguards the interests of the poor, by offering eighteen scholarships to past pupils of elementary schools in Bethnal Green.

More than half the total number of elementary scholarships attached to London secondary schools are offered by two schools—the United Westminster Schools and the Drapers' School at the People's Palace. These institutions, therefore, far more than any others, have the character of pure continuation schools. The People's Palace in particular bases its curriculum on the supposition that its scholars have already passed through the elementary standards, and outsiders have to fit in as best they may. In other schools where the number of elementary scholars is always a very small percentage of the total number of the boys, the curriculum is arranged on the assumption that the boy is educated at the secondary school from an early age, and though special consideration is usually shown to scholarship holders, they have to find their places in a system constructed with a view to the requirements of a different class. As we are here brought face to face with the greatest difficulty in the co-ordination of elementary and secondary education, some further consideration of the point is necessary.

The secondary schools of past days, planted here and there according to the whim of the charitable founder, had naturally no relation with the primary schools which for the most part were not yet in existence. Even now the problem of linking the various grades of schools together remains to be solved, for in spite of the changes introduced by the Charity Commission, the old foundation schools still hang in the air, with little organic connection with the vast system of State-aided primary education which has

\* With precedence for applicants from certain parishes.



grown up underneath them. The truth is that universal education is a modern idea, undreamt of in the days of the pious founders, who only hoped to give a chance of liberal education to a limited number of boys in special parishes; just as they founded the almshouses, with which the schools were often connected, with no intention of their forming part of a scheme of universal pensions. It is the development of universal primary education that has brought with it the need for some "capacity-catching" machinery for selecting the most promising boys from the elementary schools, and carrying their education to a higher point. Whether in turn this—the modern—idea will give place to the idea of universal secondary education, is a question for the future. The present problem is to devise the best machinery for selection.

In certain cases the best course may be to create special continuation schools to collect boys who have already passed through the elementary standards.\* But this method is as yet impracticable on a large scale in London, because the number of parents in any district willing to forego their children's earnings for a couple of years after leaving the elementary schools is hardly large enough to support a local school, and the expense of travelling makes the cost too heavy for parents at a distance. Where the plan has succeeded is where the education offered at the higher school, being technical in its character, has a direct bearing on the commercial value of the boy's labour in the future.

As a rule, then, we have, at least for some time to come, to utilize as continuation schools the existing supply of secondary schools in London, which thus have to discharge the double function of higher grade schools for the middle class and continuation schools for elementary scholars.

To construct a curriculum and time-table equally suited

\* Such as those which are now being established in Wales.

to these two functions is impossible. In a school which keeps boys from seven or eight, to fifteen, the time-table is much more varied than in the elementary school where boys leave at twelve or thirteen. The result is that the elementary scholar on entering the school at twelve is in a different position from the boys of equal age who have received their education there throughout. He has probably learnt the "three R's" more thoroughly if more mechanically than those among whom he finds himself. They, on the other hand, have laid the foundation of other subjects (*e.g.* one or two foreign languages) of which, as yet, he is innocent.

The difficulty of adjusting the two objects of the school can be surmounted so long as the elementary scholars are not too numerous to be dealt with individually. A little separate instruction in backward subjects, either out of school hours or in a special class, is all that is needed, for the boys are above the average in cleverness, and are anxious to place themselves on an equal footing with their fellows. So far as I have been able to observe, head-masters are most willing to take the necessary trouble to work the scholarship system on its present small scale, and the London School Board are trying to help by giving special instruction to scholarship winners in the six months which often elapse between the award of the scholarship and entrance into the secondary school. But the problem becomes altogether different when the elementary scholars form a considerable percentage of the whole school, and the existing staff of masters, which is none too large, would find it impossible to do justice at once to the boys coming up from the lower forms, grounded in a number of subjects, and those streaming in from outside, knowing a few subjects well.

It is this, rather than any feeling of social difference, which lies at the root of the objection of many masters of secondary schools to any wide extension of the scholarship system on the existing lines. Class prejudice has little play

in London boys' schools—far less than in girls' schools; though, doubtless, the intermixture has been rendered easier by the fact that the elementary scholars, who as yet have found their way into London secondary schools, have been the aristocracy, no less socially than intellectually, of the schools from which they have been drawn. This appears clearly from the following analysis of the occupations of the parents of a hundred such scholars in three East London secondary schools, which from their situation in the heart of a working-class district are not likely to contain less than the average proportion of the working class.

Middle and Professional	Architect .....	1	} 70
	Retail Tradesmen .....	43	
	Licensed Victuallers .....	6	
	Clerks.....	4	
	Commercial Travellers and Agents	3	
	Warehousemen.....	2	
	Managers and Foremen .....	11	
Working class	Artisans.....	26	} 30
	Policeman .....	1	
	Street-seller .....	1	
	Labourers .....	2	

Thus the social class of the majority of the boys selected by scholarship does not differ very greatly from that of the other pupils of secondary schools. This fact, while smoothing over many practical difficulties of the scholarship system, shows plainly that it has as yet failed to reach more than the upper fringe of the working classes.

It must not, however, be thought that the number of scholarship holders is a sufficient measure of the degree to which secondary schools draw from the stratum beneath them. Thus, in one of the three schools just alluded to, which has only admitted thirty boys by scholarships since its foundation in 1886, no fewer than 222 boys, or 42 per cent. of the whole number, have been drawn from elementary schools during the same period. These boys consist mainly of two classes. There is first a large number who come for a single year, or even a single term, after



leaving the elementary school, in order to get a "finish." They derive little or no good educationally from the higher school, but they get not only a certain social prestige, but a commercial advantage when seeking a post, from being able to say that they have been at a secondary school. The other class consists of boys who come to the school at the age of eight or nine, having used the infant classes and lower standards of an elementary school as a preparatory department.

Before considering what alterations are needed in order to make an extension of the scholarship system possible, we may inquire a little further how far it works satisfactorily with regard to the limited number and limited class for whom the existing scholarships provide.

Here the evidence is very conflicting. In many of the schools we find that as yet the number of entries for scholarships leaves much to be desired. At one school, the offer of "junior" scholarships (of £4 a year, rising to £6 after two years), open to penny schools only, in the neighbourhood, produced very few candidates in the first three years. On the other hand at another school, not far off, two hundred candidates are attracted for twenty to forty scholarships, entitling to remission of fees.\*

The facts seem to show two things: first that the scholarship system is capable of being worked so as to produce a really active competition for vacancies, whereby there is reasonable certainty of securing scholars of exceptional ability, and, secondly, that in its present form it often fails to achieve this object.

Many reasons have been given for the failure in certain cases. It has been alleged that many elementary teachers are anxious not to part with their best boys, and without their co-operation any scholarship scheme must break

\* In the last case, part of the exhibitions were open to others than elementary scholars. More than two-thirds, however, are taken by scholars who have been at an elementary school.

down. But the scheme for junior scholarships at the school, the failure of which has been mentioned, was drawn up by the head-master in consultation with the head-teachers of the poor schools in question. Another explanation is the want of co-operation of the London School Board, who while circulating notices of scholarships to their teachers, decline to order them to be posted up in the elementary schools. Doubtless some hitch has occurred of this kind in certain cases, but the success of the system in other schools which would be equally affected by this obstacle proves that it is not at the root of the problem, though no doubt if the secondary schools were organized under public control the difficulty would be lessened or removed. But the real question to be solved is not merely the circulation of notices, but the adaptation of the scholarships to the needs of the children. No amount of advertising will in the end make an unpopular article "go," and it is to be feared that it wants much more than a mere remission of fees to make higher education popular in poor districts. The experience of "junior scholarships" open to penny schools in such a district shows conclusively that the offer of free education fails to "catch capacity" from among the children of the poor, where the loss of a boy's earnings is a serious pinch to the family. Nothing is more disheartening than to find clever but poor children winning scholarships, and their parents compelled to refuse them on this ground.

Again, elementary scholars enter secondary schools at ages varying from 11 to 13. As a rule they do not stay at the school much beyond the age of 14. At the date of my visit to the George Green School, Poplar, there were only two such scholars over this age, while the average age of the elementary scholars who have left Parmiter's School is only  $13\frac{1}{2}$ . Two results follow from the present system. In the first place, the boys who are successful in the competition for scholarships come from

the richer homes, for by the age of 11 or 12 the influence of the home atmosphere has had time to tell to such a degree as to handicap severely the boys from rougher homes where there is little appreciation of education and little opportunity for quiet study. Thus we get an undesirable social selection. In the second place, the stay in the higher school is quite insufficient to enable the boys to take full advantage of the instruction, especially as the greater part of the first few months must be occupied with getting abreast of the other boys in subjects not taught in elementary schools.

A remedy which would go to the heart of the difficulty would be *to tap the elementary school in the middle, instead of skimming it from the top*, by lowering the age of admission of scholarship holders to 10. If this were done probably a readjustment of the method of selection might have to be made, since children differ so much in their rapidity of development that a special examination test at such age is hardly calculated to catch the best talent. The method tried in connection with the United Westminster Schools, where candidates are preferred at the age of ten, is that of a limited competition among boys nominated by the head-teachers of the elementary schools in the district. Perhaps the best plan of all would be to lay down a rule that any child who passed the fourth standard under the age of 10 should be entitled, without further examination, to claim a scholarship at a higher school. The lowering of the age of admission would solve many difficulties. It would be almost certain to increase the number of candidates and would give fairer play to the poorer children, while to a great extent it would avoid disorganizing the curriculum of the higher schools. If the change were carried out it would be possible largely to increase the percentage of scholars in those schools without danger. But such a reform to be effectual needs to be backed up by an increase in the value of the scholarships, especially in poorer districts. The scholarships



should increase in value from year to year so as to provide a progressively increasing inducement to parents to prolong their children's education. If the age of candidates were limited to ten, the scale might be constructed on something like the following plan :—

1st year.	2nd year.	3rd year.	4th year.	5th year.
10—11	11—12	12—13	13—14	14—15
Fees.	Fees+£5.	Fees+£7. 10s.	Fees+£10.	Fees+£12. 10s.

Changes such as these would give new life and vigour to the scholarship system, though doubtless exceptional provision would be necessary for the case of boys whose abilities develop later than the limit of age allowed. Every improvement of machinery, however, only makes it more urgent that we should form a clear conception of the lines on which we wish ultimately to move with regard to higher education. To open up a connection between elementary and higher schools does not by itself solve this question. What it does is to take a few boys from one class, and place them among a number of boys of another class, coming from a different kind of home and aiming at a different kind of career. The new-comers must assimilate themselves to their new surroundings under the penalty of miserable isolation during their school career. They are, as a rule, clever boys, and masters say they “mix in well”—that is they readily imitate the manner and catch the ideas of those around them. In other words, such sons of artisans as secure scholarships tend to receive in the higher school the stamp of middle-class ideas, and an almost irresistible bias towards a middle-class trade or profession. If this be, as it is, a perversion of the aim of continuation schools, some powerful corrective must be

applied. The question is not between a liberal and a "technical" training; for with the class for whom these schools provide, any studies must directly or indirectly be to a great extent "bread studies." It is rather a question between predisposing the boys towards quill-driving or towards handicraft. One conclusion then of this inquiry is that a great want in London secondary schools which will be increasingly felt in the future, is a more practical and modern curriculum;—not necessarily a distinctively technical course of instruction, but one which at least recognizes the fact that a change in the class from which the pupils are drawn necessitates a corresponding change in the education to be provided, and that with the co-ordination of our secondary and elementary school systems the unbroken tradition of purely literary training, which has been handed down in our grammar schools from the Middle Ages, must come to an end.

*Evening Schools.*—Though evening instruction falls for the most part outside the range of this chapter, a few words must be said of the organizations which at present exist in London for its provision.

First there are the evening classes in connection with public elementary schools, of which 232 are held by the London School Board alone. Of these 100 are for girls only. The total number of pupils in these classes at present is as follows\* :—

	Male.	Female.	Total.
On the rolls of School Board			
Evening Classes .....	9,945	5,699	15,644
Average attendance .....	5,547	3,437	8,984

A great deal of the instruction given in these classes is purely elementary, but under the more generous provisions

\* For these figures I am indebted to the courtesy of the School Board.

of the new Education Code the School Board have been able to introduce a certain amount of higher and technical instruction into their evening schools. Thus various branches of elementary science, modern languages, book-keeping, shorthand, and other commercial subjects are taught in many of the schools, as well as cookery and needlework for the girls.

A voluntary organization known as the Recreative Evening Schools Association exists for the purpose of increasing the attractiveness of evening schools by means of magic-lantern lectures, and instruction in simple crafts and other subjects likely to interest the pupils. Formerly such subjects were excluded by the pressure of the requirements of the Code from the evening instruction provided by the Board. Now, however, that the conditions have been made more elastic the teaching work of the voluntary Association is gradually being superseded by the more systematic action of the School Board, and the Association would probably do better to concentrate its energy and resources on developing the purely social side of the schools, than to attempt to keep up an unequal competition with the organized teaching work of the public authority.

Beside the classes conducted by the Board, science and art classes in connection with South Kensington are held by permission of the Board in some of their premises, though not under their control.

Of other institutions providing evening instruction there are seventy or more in London, ranging from the ordinary science and art classes to institutions of University rank, such as University and King's College. Much of the instruction is of a technical character, the most notable of the technical colleges with evening classes being the Finsbury College of the City and Guilds Institute. An interesting educational experiment is the Polytechnic Institute in Regent Street, which has to a great extent



furnished the model for the People's Palace Technical Schools, and for new Technical Institutes which are now in course of formation in Borough Road, Battersea, New Cross, Chelsea, and elsewhere. A scheme has just passed Parliament for the appropriation to these institutes of a large part of the funds of the City Parochial Charities. Other institutions are the Birkbeck Institute—a relic of the old Mechanics' Institutes—the City of London College, Toynbee Hall, and the Working Men's College founded by Maurice, Ruskin, and others. The University Extension Society provides courses of lectures at a great number of centres on scientific, literary, and other subjects.

These organizations, however, deal chiefly with adult instruction, and a discussion of them would be out of place in a chapter mainly devoted to the education of children. It is safe, however, to say that while much of the teaching work of the evening institutions is thrown away at present owing to the want of adequate previous grounding of their pupils in secondary day schools, the demand for higher instruction is certain to expand as the organization of secondary schools becomes more complete. The functions of evening classes are changing. With the extension and improvement of elementary day schools much of the work of the old "night school" has become unnecessary. Evening classes are needed no longer to take the place of day schools, but to continue and supplement their work. It is thus no wonder that side by side with the expansion of the attendance at day schools there has been until a year or so ago a gradual contraction of the number of evening scholars at primary schools.

The "three R.'s" have been dethroned in the evening school to make room for secondary and technical subjects, and now that the change has been recognized in the Code, the attendance again shows a marked increase. The further organization of secondary education may be expected again

to encroach on the present work of evening classes, and to drive them on to still higher and more specialized instruction, until finally the desired goal is reached, when the wants of the population with regard to general education will be chiefly met in the day school, and the superstructure of specialized instruction of the evening school will at last have a solid foundation on which to rest.

*Table giving particulars of Endowed and Proprietary Secondary Schools for Boys within the London School Board District.*

School Board District.	Name of School.	Date of Foundation.	Date of Re-organization.	Under what scheme, if any.	Accommodation.	No of Pupils.	Ages of Pupils.	Fee per year.	Remarks
<i>City</i>	<i>Endowed</i> Merchant School	1561	1875	Charity Commis- sion (End. Sch.)	500	512	9—19	£12 12s to £15s. 15s (£4. entr.)	Classical and modern sides, a first grade school
	City of London	1834	—	Special Act	700	700	7—19	£12. 12s to £15. 15s	Governed by the City Corporation by special Act of Parliament
	Stationers' School	1859	1888	Charity Commis- sion (End. Sch.)	150	106	8—16	£8	Removal contemplated
	Mercers' School	1542	—	—	150	150	8—	£5	Admission by nomination by Court of Assistants of Mercers' Com- pany. No special endowment. School existed for centuries before adoption by Mercers' in 1542
	Christ's Hospital	1553	1782	Special Act	750	750	8—19	(Free, with board and lodging)	Admission by nomination. New scheme pending for diversion of endowment to support day and boarding schools
<i>Westminster</i>	<i>Endowed</i> Westminster School	1560	1868	Public Schools Commission	300	240	10—19	£31. 10s (day), £99. 15s (board)(en- trance, £5. 5s)	Public school curriculum



<i>St. Clement Danes</i>	1862 1875	Charity Commis- sion (End. Sch.)	130	67	8—17	£4. 10s	Situation unsuitable.
	1685 1871	Charity Commis- sion (End. Sch.)	250	200	7—15	£5. 5s to £6. 15s	
	1594 1873 1633 and 1650 1878 1708 —	Charity Commis- sion (End. Sch.)	850	844	7—15	£4. 10s to £6. 6s	Large number of scholarships from elementary schools. Wood and metal workshops. Connected with Emanuel School
	1829 —	—	500	294	8—18	£15. 15s to £25. 4s (en- trance fee, £3. 14s 6d)	
	1509 1879 1703 1856	Charity Commis- sion (End. Sch.) Chancery	650 250	596 235	12—19 7—18	£24. 9s £12. 12s (day) £57. 15s (boarders) £3. 3s to £6. 6s	Public school curriculum
<i>St. Mark's College Sch. (Upper) Kensington School</i>	1841 —	—	350	346	7. -15	£20 (day) £80 (board- ers)	Attached to St. Mark's Training College Formerly a limited company; re- constituted in 1869, and now managed by trustees. Chiefly preparatory
	1831 1869	—	200	14	—		
	1882 1891	Charity Commis- sion (City Parochial Chari- ties)	600	528	7—17	£4. 14s 6d to £7. 17s 6d	Forms part of the Polytechnic In- stitute to be aided out of the City Parochial Charities. Has three divisions, professional, commercial and technical

*Chelsea*

*Marylebone*

Table giving particulars of Endowed and Proprietary Secondary Schools for Boys within the London School Board District (continued).

School Board District.	Name of School.	Date of Foundation.	Date of Re-organization.	Under what scheme, if any.	Accommodation.	No. of Pupils.	Ages of Pupils.	Fee per year.	Remarks.
Marylebone continued	William Ellis Endowed School	1889	—	—	400	85	8—16	£6. 6s	Up to 1889 was an Elementary School. Carpenter's workshop
	Proprietary University College Sch.	1833	—	—	600	512	9—19	£25. 4s	Large number of subjects taught. Classification in various subjects independent. Wide choice left to parents
	Philological School	1792	—	—	250	160	8—16	£10. 10s	In union with King's College
Finsbury	Kentish Town School	1883	—	—	330	155	7—16	£9 to £12	Boys' Public Day School Company
	Endowed Dame Alice Owen's School	1613	1878	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	360	350	9—16 and 17	£6	Successful in commercial instruction; laboratory badly needed, technical instruction contemplated in scheme, but not yet provided
	Cowper Street School	1866	—	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	1000	1000	7—	£5. 5s	New scheme pending for Endowment. Technical instruction in engineering and woodwork
	Proprietary Islington High School for Boys	1830	1880	—	300	120	8—18	£9. 9s to £12. 12s	—

# *Hackney*

<i>Endowed</i> Grocers' School	1873	—	Charity Commis- sion (End. Sch.)	500	486 10—15 or 17	£8 to £10 (day), £30 to £40 (boarders) £4. 4s	Carpenter's shop
Haberdashers' School (Hoxton)	1695	1875	Charity Commis- sion (End. Sch.)	400	354 7—17		Small carpenter's shop
Parmier's Foundation School (Bethnal Green)	1681	1884	Charity Commis- sion (End. Sch.)	320	320 10—16	£3. 15s	Wood and metal workshops con- templated in scheme but not yet provided
<i>Endowed</i> George Green's School (Poplar)	1828	1882	Charity Commis- sion (End. Sch.)	200	180 6—16	£4. 10s to £6. 18s	Small carpenter's shop (used out of hours)
Prisca Coborn's School (Bow)	1873	—	Charity Commis- sion (End. Sch.)	400	204 8—16	£3. 15s to £6	New scheme of Charity Commis- sioners pending to unite with Cooper's School
Whitechapel Founda- tion School	1854	1888	Charity Commis- sion (End. Sch.)	200	117 7—16	£3	Wood and metal workshops con- templated in scheme. Technical work now provided outside the school by Whitechapel Craft School.
Coopers' Comp. Gram- mar School (Ratcliff)	1538	—	—	300	300 7—	£2. 2s	New scheme pending to unite with Prisca Coborn's School.
People's Palace Day School (Drapers' Com- panies' Institute)	1887	—	Charity Commis- sion (City Paro- chial) (Charities dep.)	400	350 12—14 or 15	£1	Mainly a Technical Continuation School by scholarships from Ele- mentary Schools. "Organized Science School" in connection with S. Kensington
<i>Endowed</i> St. Saviour's Grammar School	1562	1850	Chancery	100	35 8—	£6. 18s	New scheme pending
St. Olave's Grammar School	1571	1890	Charity Commis- sion (End. Sch.)	400	270 7—	£4. 4s to £6. 6s	New scheme will provide for 600 boys and technical workshops.

# *Tower Hamlets*

# *Southwark*



*Table giving particulars of Endowed and Proprietary Secondary Schools for Boys within the London School Board District (continued).*

School Board District.	Name of School.	Date of Foundation.	Date of Re-organization	Under what scheme, if any	Accommodation.	No. of Pupils.	Ages of Pupils.	Fec per year.	Remarks.
<i>West Lambeth</i>	<i>Endowed</i> Sir Walter St. John's Upper School (Battersea Grammar School)	1700	1873	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	150	145	7—16	£6. 6s to £9. 9s	Sir W. St. John's Middle School acts as a feeder.
	Emanuel School	1594	1873	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	270	268	7—16	£9 (day) £30 (board-ers)	Boarding School connected with United Westminster School
	Sir Walter St. John's School	1700	1873	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	300	292	7—16	£3 to £5. 2s	Connected with Sir W. St. John's Upper School.
	<i>Proprietary</i> Clapham School	1884	—	—	160	145	7—16	£9 to £12	(Boys' Public Day School Company)
<i>East Lambeth</i>	<i>Endowed</i> Dulwich College	1619	1858	Scheme re-constituted by Special Act 1857 Amending schemes 1882, &c., by Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	600	583	10—19	£21 (day), £81 (board-ers)	Used to be united with Alleyn's School till Corporation was dissolved in 1857. Has classical and modern sides, and fine engineering workshops
	Wilson's School	1615	1880	Charity Commission (End. Sch.)	400	350	8—17	£10	—

## Greenwich

Alley's School	1619	1858 and 1889	Charity Commis- sion (End. Sch.)	530	517	8-17	£8	Same foundation as Dulwich College
<i>Endowed</i> St. Dunstan's College (Catford Bridge)	1888	—	Charity Commis- sion (End. Sch.)	400	216	8—17	£13. 10s to £16. 10s	Provision for scientific work and carpentry
Colfe's Grammar School (Lewisham)	1656	1890	Charity Commis- sion (End. Sch.)	200	40	7—16 or 18	£9. 9s to £12. 12s	Accommodation given refers to new buildings. Scheme provides for technical work as soon as income allows
Haberdashers' Aske's School (Hatcham)	—	1873 amended since 1873	—	300	310	8—18	£8	Foundation scholarships for 10 per cent. of the pupils. There is a commercial side
Roan's School (Green- wich) <i>Proprietary</i> Blackheath Proprietary School	1643	1873	Charity Commis- sion (End. Sch.)	360	360	7—16 or 17	£6. 6s	—
	1830	—	—	150	125	Up to 18 or 19	£20. 8s to £27. 15s (day), £80. 8s to £87. 15s (boarders)	Public School Curriculum
Woolwich and Plum- stead High School	1879	—	—	140	58	8—17	£6. 6s to £9. 9s	Managed since 1888 by Church Schools Company (Ltd.)
West Kent Grammar School (Brockley)	1887	—	—	220	101	8—17	£7. 17s 6d	Church Schools Company (Ltd.)

## (2.) GIRLS.

The best secondary education for girls in London is provided by self-supporting, or almost self-supporting schools. The sisters of the boys who go to the great endowed schools such as St. Paul's, Westminster, Dulwich College, Merchant Taylors', and the City of London, will be found in the schools of the Girls' Public Day School Company, in other proprietary public schools, in private schools, or at home under the tuition of governesses and masters. In such schools the age at which the girls generally leave is from about seventeen to nineteen. The majority of the endowed schools for girls are used by parents of the middle class who either cannot afford or do not care to send their daughters to school for so long a period, and the age at leaving is in such schools from fifteen to seventeen. These two classes of secondary schools are generally referred to as High Schools and Middle Schools.

Self-supporting as are the majority of them, their fees are generally much below those of the endowed schools for boys. Omitting private schools the High Schools in London are :—

Schools.		Founded.	Fees.	Accom- modation.
North London Collegiate	N.W.	1850	above £15	500
Notting Hill, Bayswater G. P. D. S. Co.	W.	1873	£9-£15	1850
Maida Vale	„	W. 1878		
Highbury and Islington	„	N. 1878		
Kensington	„	W. 1880		
South Hampstead	„	N.W. 1882		
Clapton and Hackney	„	E. 1886		

## Kent and Surrey (Intra Metropolitan)—

Dulwich	G. P. D. S. Co.	S.E.	1878	£9-£15	1550
Blackheath	„	S.E.	1880		
Wimbledon	„	S.W.	1880		
Clapham	„	S.W.	1882		
Sydenham	„	S.E.	1887		
Brixton	„	S.W.	1887		



## Church of England High Schools—

Baker Street	N.W.
Graham Street	S.W.

## Church Schools Company—

Stoke Newington	N.	1886	£6-£12	
Stroud Green	N.	1887	£7-£10	
Mary Datchelor's	S.E.	1876	£9	480
Aske's, Hatcham		1876	£9	250

The last two schools both have endowments enabling them to charge low fees. The North London Collegiate has been endowed to the extent of having its schools built for it and a yearly endowment for maintenance of premises and for granting scholarships. It charges the highest fees, but has a larger number of free scholars than any other public high school, receiving, in addition to its own scholars, pupils from the Camden Middle Schools with leaving scholarships. The Girls' Public Day School Company, however, which has no endowment and which pays a dividend, covers the largest area with its high schools. The private schools in the same districts are therefore only handicapped in competition with them by the advantages and economy in teaching power resulting from the organization of large numbers under one management; and in the West and North-West of London and in the middle-class suburban districts several good private schools hold their own with the public schools.

The public middle schools are, with hardly any exception, endowed. The G. P. D. S. Co. have a middle school at Clapham for about 200 girls. The Camden School is endowed in the same way as the North London Collegiate, several scholarships being open to girls in the school to enable them to pass on to the high school. The Clapham middle school makes no profit, and all the other public middle schools offer an education below cost price. The fees are in some cases lower than the endowments warrant, and the

teaching staff are therefore often underpaid and the school accommodation and teaching apparatus are deficient. Such being the case in these endowed schools, it is absolutely impossible for any good private schools of the same standing to exist in those neighbourhoods, those that are to be found charging still lower fees and giving nothing worthy of the name of instruction.

The principal public middle schools are those regulated by schemes under the Endowed Schools Acts in connection with the Charity Commission. The ordinary fees range from £3. 15s to £8.

Schools.	Numbers.
James Allen's, Dulwich.....	296
Camden, Kentish Town.....	427
Dame Alice Owen's, Clerkenwell.....	255
Roan's, Greenwich .....	350
Lady Holles', Hackney.....	243
Aske's, Hoxton .....	226
George Green's, Poplar.....	105
Holborn Estate, St. Clement Danes .....	62
Burlington, Westminster .....	220
Grey Coat, Westminster .....	336
St. Martin's, Westminster .....	195
Skinners' Company's, Stamford Hill (opened October, 1890).	

These middle schools all send in their pupils for the Cambridge or Oxford Junior Local and the South Kensington examinations; the curriculum is in most cases practically determined by the Cambridge authorities. Religious knowledge, English grammar and literature and history, arithmetic, geography and French are subjects taken up by all the pupils. Mathematics, Latin, and German are taught in the highest forms according to the judgment of the head-mistress, the work done in the two latter subjects being generally very little. Although in some of the schools botany is well taught and physiology to some extent, in connection with the laws of health, the

science teaching in several of them must be admitted to be of a very elementary as well as of an unsatisfactory nature. This is partly due to the expense of scientific apparatus, and in part to the slight importance attached to such training by the head-mistresses.\* In the seven middle-class schools visited, drawing was taught throughout in every case, much importance being attached by all the head-mistresses to this training of the eye. In most cases the pupils are examined by the South Kensington Art Department. At one school where the teaching is very good the head-mistress, however, objects to send her pupils in for examinations held in the evening and at the same time and place as those of the boys. Theory of music is a strong feature in one of the schools; class singing is taught in all of them, and several pupils in each school pay extra fees for pianoforte and a few for violin lessons.

The views of parents as well as of head-mistresses differ very much on the question of what must be called practical rather than technical education. The head-mistresses in some cases consider that it is far more important to give the girls the intellectual training which they could never get elsewhere than to spend time on what they will be willing if necessary to learn at home or at classes after leaving school. Similarly many parents show not only an unwillingness to pay extra fees for their daughters to learn cooking and dressmaking, but also a positive dislike to their giving up their time to it in the ordinary course, considering that they can learn it much better elsewhere when they leave school. The cost of apparatus and materials and the small numbers that can receive practical

\* One head-mistress in East London thought it would be impossible to obtain botanical specimens for dissection and also useless for London girls to study botany; another, also in East London, taught the subject throughout the school and said that the girls themselves kept the classes well supplied with specimens.



instruction at any one time make it very difficult to establish cookery classes without extra fees.

This is not, however, the universal experience. In one school demonstration lessons are given to the girls in the third and fourth forms, and then for one week in the year two children go down into the kitchen and give their whole time in the morning throughout the week to cooking. A large number of the children dine at the school, and therefore these two help to cook the dinner. At this school tennis matches are not infrequent, and the girls cook for the teas given on these occasions. In a fourth school cookery is taught by a teacher with a South Kensington certificate. It is taught with the very simplest apparatus, so that the girls can apply it at home. Here also the girls frequently do the cooking for the school entertainments.

Gymnastic exercise is insisted on in different degrees in all the schools but one, where it is entirely neglected. It may be noted as a curious coincidence, certainly not as an effect of this, that the girls in this school seemed to need it less than in any of the other schools. All the schools suffer considerably from want of sufficient accommodation, although in each case where there is no gymnasium the head-mistress is agitating for it with fair hopes of success. Swimming is very popular at two of the schools which have been successful in securing the bath for themselves on the day that the water is clean. Two other schools would have promoted swimming classes but for their failure to secure clean water.

The classes from which these middle schools are recruited may be fairly well indicated by the following list of occupations of the fathers of girls in the two highest forms in one of the East End schools:—

Clerk (12).	Private schoolmaster.	Potted meat manufac-
Wesleyan minister.	Supercargo.	turer.
Farmer.	Electrical surgeon.	Sewing machine maker.
Surgeon.	Chemist (2).	Licensed victualler.

Rate collector.	Doctor.	Auctioneer.
Bootmaker and shop-keeper (2).	Manager.	Milk-shop keeper.
Draper (2).	Workhouse master.	Grocer.
Architect.	Builder.	Hay dealer.
Baker.	Master mariner.	Shopkeeper.
		Officer (dead).

During the twelve years since this school was started there has only been one bad debt. Notwithstanding this, the head-mistress knows that several of the parents have very small incomes, and have more difficulty in paying the fees than many an artisan. The head-mistress of a neighbouring school of the same class believes that few of the parents, consisting of tradesmen, managers and clerks, with a sprinkling of the professional class, have less than £200 a year. The head-mistress of another middle school where the majority of the girls are the daughters of clerks, knows that several of the parents do not make more than well-paid mechanics.

This cursory review of the kind of education given at these middle schools has been made with the special view of understanding the position of children who, having received an elementary education in the Board schools or voluntary schools, have been enabled to pass on to the middle schools. In claiming endowments for the education of girls, the needs of different classes must be considered. An attempt is here made to ascertain to what class of society the girls belong who have gone from the elementary public schools to secondary schools, the length of time that they remain in the secondary schools, their success in the schools themselves, and the occupations that they have taken up on leaving them. It has been stated in the section on boys' education that class prejudice has less play in London boys' schools than in girls' schools. This is true, but the explanation is not to be found in a greater snobbishness inherent in the nature of girls than exists in that of boys. Social differences are more keenly observed

in girls' schools because the education of girls is deliberately and rightly directed to fitting them for the social life which they will most probably lead; a boy's education is civic, a girl's domestic. The domestic needs and habits of different classes vary considerably, and there may be a danger that in promoting the secondary education of girls of the working classes along the same lines as those pursued by the girls of the middle classes their domestic happiness may be sacrificed to a theoretical equality. Two problems have to be considered and treated differently. We have to consider the best means for improving the education of working class girls generally, and we have also to make provision for those girls whose exceptional ability is such as to give them a claim to better opportunities for cultivating it. Under any circumstances these exceptional girls will have much social and domestic tribulation, and the best course may be to let them follow their intellectual bent and make the most of their talents even at the risk of unfitting them for their domestic life.

As with the boys, so with the girls, we find great variations in the numbers of candidates for scholarships at different schools. At one school, which awards entrance scholarships to pupils of elementary public schools, only six girls competed on one occasion for three scholarships, and only three on another occasion for two scholarships. At another school the competition is open to boys and girls together on equal terms; large numbers compete from all parts of London, and at the last award fifteen of the forty scholarships were won by girls and three hundred girls competed. A third school, with a very large endowment and extremely low fees, has generally about eighty girls in the school holding free scholarships. For some time these were awarded in open competition between the pupils of all the elementary public schools in the prescribed districts, but this resulted in a dead lock, as the pupils of a certain school always won. The other schools objected to competing, and the



winning school objected to being drained of all its best pupils. Now the head-mistress of each elementary school nominates three children, and the head-mistress of the middle school selects one of these. The managers of this school, like those of every other school of the same kind, have found that the later the age at which these scholars enter the less progress they make, and no children are now admitted to free scholarships above the age of eleven. Opinions on the advisability of this limit are almost unanimous, but while approving of it two consequences must be noticed. At such an early age competitive examination is of little value as a test of superior ability, and precocity is liable to be mistaken for talent; for all practical purposes the scholarships might as well be awarded at once to the cleanest and healthiest-looking children. Another result is that the head-mistress of the elementary school is strongly tempted under the system of payment by results to keep back from competition the girls who are most likely to do her credit, and who would otherwise leave two years before the ordinary age. Several schools award no scholarships to elementary scholars, but many girls are sent to them from elementary schools at the parents' own expense. Particulars have been obtained as often as possible of both classes of girls.

Occupations of fathers of girls admitted to middle schools with scholarships:—

Railway guard.	Oilskin dresser.	Coachman.
Ship carpenter (3 children held scholarships).	Waterproofer.	Clerk (5).
Joiner.	Board schoolmaster (3).	Foreman.
Gate-keeper.	Master blacksmith.	Sorter, P. O.
Caretaker.	Printer (2).	Joiner.
Wheelwright.	Commercial traveller (3).	Manufacturer.
Ironplate worker.	Builder.	Engineer.
Cheesemonger.	Tax collector.	Tailor.
	Jeweller (2).	

Occupations of fathers of girls admitted to middle

schools from elementary public schools without scholarships:—

Butcher (2).	Pianoforte maker (2).
Superintendent Registrar.	Upholsterer (3).
Iron merchant.	Wood-inlayer.
Bank manager.	Chemist's assistant.
Clerk (12).	Fishmonger.
Collector to a hospital.	Printer (3).
Inspector of Inland Revenue.	Salesman.
Gold eye-glass maker.	Ironmonger's assistant.
Sculptor (3).	Postmaster.
Tailor.	Fruiterer.
Commercial traveller (4).	Grocer.
Manufacturer.	Farmer.
Gasfitter.	Bootmaker.
Engraver (3).	Milk contractor.
Builder (5).	Manager of bakery.
Merchant (2).	Chartered accountant.
Pianoforte dealer.	Writer in Law Courts.
Music publisher.	Piano tuner.
Surveyor.	Baker (2).
Draughtsman.	Scientific instrument maker.

Occupations of fathers of girls admitted to high schools with scholarships:—

City missionary.	Pianoforte maker.
Accountant (2).	Clerk.
House decorator.	Schoolmaster (4).
Blacksmith.	Boiler maker.
Carpenter.	Stationer.
Ship metallur.	Barrister.
Engineer.	Presbyterian minister.
Coal merchant.	Joiner.
Watchmaker.	

The girls in high schools are not admitted on scholarships awarded by the schools themselves, but on large scholarships open to girls in public elementary schools, the winners being allowed to choose the school at which they will use it.

Years spent in middle schools by free scholars from elementary schools :—

		Years in school.		No.	
Under 1 year ...		...	...	...	13
1 „ ...		...	...	...	45
„ 2 „ ...		...	...	...	16
„ 3 „ ...		...	...	...	8
„ 4 „ ...		...	...	...	4
„ 5 „ ...		...	...	...	3
Total		...	...	...	89

Age at entrance.	No.		Average years in school.	Average age at leaving.	
10 ...	1	...	1.0	...	11.0
11 ...	13	...	2.66	...	13.66
12 ...	32	...	1.53	...	13.83
13 ...	43	...	1.45	...	14.45
—	89	...	1.65	...	13.96

Years spent in middle schools by elementary scholars without scholarships :—

		Years in school.		No.	
1 year ...		...	...	...	13
2 „ ...		...	...	...	22
3 „ ...		...	...	...	11
4 „ ...		...	...	...	7
5 „ ...		...	...	...	5
6 „ ...		...	...	...	1
7 „ ...		...	...	...	2
Total		...	...	...	61

Age at entrance.	No.		Average years in school.	Average age at leaving.	
7 ...	2	...	5.0	...	12.0
8 ...	2	...	5.0	...	13.0
9 ...	4	...	5.75	...	14.75
10 ...	2	...	3.0	...	13.0
11 ...	4	...	3.0	...	14.0
12 ...	9	...	2.33	...	14.33
13 ...	15	...	2.0	...	15.0
14 ...	12	...	2.0	...	16.0
Total	50	...	2.72	...	14.72



Years spent in high school by free scholars from elementary schools :—

Years in school. *				No
2 years ...	...	...	...	2
3 „ ...	...	...	...	2
4 „ ...	...	...	...	7
5 „ ...	...	...	...	2
7 „ ...	...	...	...	1
Total ...				14
Now in school				7

Age at entrance.	No.	Average years in school.	Average age at leaving.
11 ...	1	4.0	15.0
12 ...	4	5.0	17.0
13 ...	5	3.5	16.5
14 ...	3	4.0	18.0
*16 ...	1	2.0	18.0
—	14	3.9	16.9

There seems good reason to believe that instead of the scholarship system enabling working-men to send their daughters to middle schools, it rather encourages middle-class men to send their daughters to Board schools in the hope of obtaining scholarships. Where the competition is really keen the winners are generally of the middle class. The entrance scholarships offered by the schools under the Charity Commissioners' regulations are generally only open to pupils of the elementary public schools, children in private schools, or children taught at home being unable to compete, however poor their parents may be. The private schools are extremely bad, no good private school being able to compete with the low rates of the Board schools, and few parents in the working classes teach their own children. The grievance may therefore seem merely a formal one; the discouragement given to parents from making efforts to send their children at an early age to the middle schools may seem a more serious matter. But as the working classes

\* Went to a middle school for three years, and then to a high school.

become better educated it is not unreasonable to hope that some mothers may become competent to teach their children themselves, and great as may be the advantages of the modern public school system, it is desirable that the qualities which are developed best by private and individual tuition should not be entirely disregarded. That the private elementary schools are so bad, is not entirely due to radical defects in the system, but also to their deliberate exclusion from the incentives towards progress offered to rate-aided and subsidized public schools.

Very few of the girls who obtain the scholarships have more than average ability when compared with their school-fellows in the secondary schools. In one school the head-mistress finds them very intelligent, taking a good place notwithstanding that they are considerably handicapped by having learnt nothing but arithmetic and rules of grammar; but here these scholars admittedly belong to the middle classes. In another school where the number of free scholars is so large that the head-mistress could not be asked to give particulars about them, they did not take at all as high a place in proportion to their numbers as the other girls. One-fourth of the number are free scholars; but of the captains of the school during the last sixteen years, only one held a scholarship from an elementary public school; of twenty-two who passed the Cambridge Examinations between 1875 and 1884, two were free scholars; of twelve who passed the Cambridge Junior in the last two years, two were free scholars; of thirty-five who passed the examination of the College of Preceptors in the last year, six were free scholars. The small proportion is partly due to the fact that they leave earlier than the other girls, but partly also to the fact that the girls are of very ordinary capacity. The evidence of the head-mistress of a high school drawn up in 1886, may be quoted in this connection. "The diligence of these girls has been very satisfactory. They have worked hard, and there

are no cases of irregularity of attendance or want of punctuality. We find that they have been quiet and well-mannered, and, so far as we know, have not in any way been objected to by the other girls. Speaking generally these girls do not develop later as much as one might expect from their earlier promise. Till the numbers (at this time twenty-two) are larger, this judgment must not be looked on as more than an impression to which it would be a mistake to attach much weight. It does not, of course, affect the question of the benefit derived by these girls from the higher education so far as they can use it. They distinctly receive great benefit socially and intellectually from their admission to a higher school. Our impression is that these girls are generally under-sized or otherwise deficient in physique. We cannot make any general statement as to the intellectual quality of the School Board scholars sent to us. Some are very common-place in ability, and some are not at all common-place, although we do not think any, so far, of first-rate capacity. One, however, attained the position of head of the Sixth Form in her year, and we have a very favourable impression of four or five of those who are now in the school." Of the free scholars at this school eleven have passed the Cambridge Senior Examination, four have matriculated at London University, two have passed the Intermediate Arts Examination, and one has obtained the B.A. degree at London University. One of these is now teaching in a high school, four are teachers in Board schools, five are in the post-office, two are telegraph clerks, one is in a training college for teachers, eight are still in the school.

Before passing to the question of the history of the free scholars in middle schools, after leaving school, one or two other points may be best considered and brought out by the evidence of a lady who has had a most exceptional experience and unusual opportunities for studying the relation between elementary and secondary



schools. In 1864 the only large elementary school in her neighbourhood was one which had stringent regulations against religious teaching of any kind. In order to give parents an opportunity of obtaining for their children religious teaching on an unsectarian basis, Miss —— founded her elementary schools. They succeeded, and new buildings were in process of erection when the Act of 1870 was passed, but they were not abandoned. Under the Mundella Code they were enabled to take the Government grant. A second grade school was later on established, being originally a continuation of these elementary schools, and at first in a wing of the same building; it was removed to another part of the neighbourhood two years ago, and has taken up a better position as a higher grade school, and has a kindergarten and elementary department. There are sixty-three girls in this school and most of the teachers in the elementary schools have been pupils in the higher grade school at one time. Two scholarships are competed for, enabling two girls from the elementary school to go to the middle school at half-price, the fees of the latter school being from £3. 3s to £8. Free scholarships have never been given. About one-third of the girls in the middle school have come from the elementary school, their parents paying the whole expense. The unusually large proportion who are allowed by their parents to continue their education at a higher grade school must be attributed to the close connection between the two schools. The teachers are under the same management; those at the elementary school therefore do not lose sight of the children, and are given credit for their after success, and the children are anxious to follow in the footsteps of their sisters or old school-mates who have passed on to the higher school. They are not admitted on sufferance, and although their primary education has perforce been conducted on the lines laid down by the Education Department, it has been

more adapted to the after requirements of the middle school. One observation of the honorary director of these schools has been confirmed by other head-mistresses, who agree that it is better for girls from the elementary schools to pass on to the middle schools, and then if they can hold their own there to proceed to a high school. The transition from the elementary school to the high school is often too violent for the girl to make progress; the curriculum of a school adapted for girls who stay until they are eighteen or nineteen necessitating a different elementary education from that given in the Board schools, and in a lesser degree from that in the middle schools where girls leave at fifteen or sixteen. The scholarship money would also last longer if this course were pursued. It will be seen in the list of occupations taken up after leaving school that comparatively few of these girls become teachers in the Board schools. They are themselves disinclined to do so, and moreover they receive but little encouragement from the Board school mistresses, who in many cases positively dislike having under them girls who have been at higher grade schools.

Occupations of free scholars from elementary schools on leaving middle schools : \*—

Elementary teachers .....	21
Post-office and telegraph clerks and sorters .....	18
At home .....	10
Milliners .....	5
Dressmakers .....	6
Clerks .....	4
Shop assistants .....	4
Private school teachers .....	3
Type writers .....	2

---

73

The average age of the girls leaving the middle schools to become elementary teachers was 13·9 years, and the average time spent in the middle school by them was

\* List obtained from two schools only.

one year and two terms. The brightest and most intelligent girls stayed longer, and chose some other occupation, the post-office being preferred.

Occupations of elementary scholars (not free) after leaving middle schools :—

At home .....	9
Book-keepers and clerks .....	8
Elementary teachers .....	7
Post-office and telegraph clerks .....	6
Shop assistants .....	5
Dressmakers .....	4
Kindergarten teachers .....	1
Teaching brother and sisters .....	1

---

41

From these facts it is evident that our middle schools afford a secondary education to girls of the middle and lower middle class only; that to the working classes none is offered; that the education in the middle schools is more adapted to the needs of the middle class, and is not of the kind that would be valued by girls destined for work in the factory, and for the management of labouring class homes; and that the girls who obtain scholarships and spend some time in the higher grade schools are not welcomed as teachers in elementary schools, and therefore benefit their own class but little by their superior education, although perhaps benefiting by it themselves considerably. What is needed by girls in the working classes is not so much the provision of a "ladder from the gutter to the University" as widespread instruction in practical domestic economy, the laws of health, and acquaintance with good literature. By practical domestic economy I must not be understood to mean a training of the kind necessary for domestic service. The majority of girls in East and South London will never be attracted into domestic service, and their home needs are of a very different order from those of the servant-keeping classes. The problem is to induce parents who have but one or two rooms to let their chil-



dren after they have left school come for an hour or two in the afternoon for lessons in cottage cookery, house cleaning, methods of ventilation, washing and ironing, sick nursing, &c., adapted to the requirements of households living under primitive conditions. Between the ages of thirteen and fifteen many girls are kept at home to mind the baby—in some cases to take the management of the home while the mother goes out to work. The difficulty that at once suggests itself is the disposal of the baby; but for the purpose in view we have here not an obstacle but a help. In a school of the kind which is needed in all the poor districts of London baby management should be taught, and in this department at least there would be no lack of apparatus for practical demonstration lessons. But in all branches the apparatus should be of the simplest and cheapest kind, and if well managed such schools would so considerably increase domestic comfort that parents would see the advantage of paying fees for such a training for their children. The afternoon is the best time to choose for many reasons. The girls themselves have then little to do but gossip with their neighbours, and they are not exposed to the dangers which make evening classes but a choice between two evils.

But the intellectual education of the factory girl and the child-nurse should not be neglected even for these more imperative and immediate wants; and that education can best be obtained through the medium of good literature. If these children are backward in everything else, in a knowledge of all that is termed “life” they are only too precocious. They know evil so well in too many cases that in offering them of the tree of knowledge we are but introducing them to the good and helping them to discern it. We need not fear to put into their hands, or to give them the key to the works of the great novelists and essayists whom we have recognized as our greatest teachers and our best friends.

CONCLUSION.





## CONCLUSION.

---

### OUTLINE OF FURTHER WORK.

---

AT an early stage in my work, when asked by one from whom I sought information—"What is the good of it all?" I had to admit that I walked in faith. This attitude of mind had changed but little when I reached the end of the first volume. I was indeed satisfied that the problem I sought to solve involved the divorce of poverty from industry, and it seemed that the attainment of this solution carried with it the elimination of Class B. I showed that this helpless class hangs fatally round the necks of the classes above it, and especially of those but just above it, and I pointed out that it is industrially valueless as well as socially pernicious. I also showed that its numbers are not so very great as to render the expense of dealing with it in some semi-socialistic fashion, in the interest of self-supporting labour, a crushing burthen to the community. It is not, in fact, expense which bars the way, but the difficulty of employing any means, or devising any scheme, which would not tend to increase the numbers to be dealt with. Finally, I advocated an extension of Poor Law action as worthy of trial, but was not prepared to make any very definite suggestions.

The conclusion of a second volume leaves my position unchanged. An extension of the area of inquiry from East London to the whole of London has enlarged the wilderness of figures but has not done much to make the path more clear. It is no less evident than before that Class B is the *crux* of the situation, but it is not more easy to see how it should be dealt with. To the proposal for a revision of the Poor Law I shall return, but not until I am better equipped for its practical discussion. Anyone who studies the detailed accounts of sample London streets given in the foregoing pages, will learn how various are the circumstances even of those who can only be considered as "very poor," and can hardly fail to perceive how multiform are the remedies which the troubles of poverty demand. What is less evident, and more unheeded, is the extent to which multiform remedies, wise or unwise, are now being applied. Before attempting to decide what further, or other action should be pursued, we need to take stock of all that is being done now, so as to trace the effects of the agencies actually at work upon the existing state of things; to compare the principles by which they are guided, one with another, and the condition of districts left to themselves on account of the lack or lapse of such agencies, with that of others in which religious or philanthropic enthusiasm is active; and so gather into one focus a mass of varied experience. This I shall try to do.

On the other hand, looking at the subject from the industrial side, I propose to attempt a description of the condition of the people, grouped according to their trades, as was partially done for East London. To this undertaking (the figures of the census of 1891 being made its basis) my next volume will be devoted.

If I can accomplish all that I have laid down, so as to show not only where poverty exists in London and in what degree, but also something of its relation to industry and of the manner in which it is affected for good or evil by

existing social action of various kinds, I conceive that the knowledge may be of real value, making it more possible than it is now to avoid the wrong and choose the right path onward.

END OF VOL. II.





## INDICES.





## INDEX TO VOL. I.

A CLASS, lowest—sectional classification, 34; numerical and percentage tables of, 36; description of, 37.  
Amusements, 116-119.  
Analysis of tables of household expenditure, 134.  
Apprenticeship in cigar trade, 378.  
Artisans, classification of, 54.  
Associate workshops, 247.  
Assumptions on which tables are based, 4.

B CLASS, "very poor"—sectional classification, 34; numerical and percentage tables of, 36; description of, 39; sectional classification in districts, 40; married state of, 41, 132; standard of life of, 131; average expenditure, 133, 134, 138; "drags down C and D," 162.

"Bespoke" trade, coats, 213; boots, 242.

Bethnal Green, population of, 32; tables of classes in, 36; description of, 71; table of sections and classes in, 76; numbers in boot trade, 241; numbers in furniture trade, 311; silk manufacture in, 389.

Birthplaces — of criminals, 525; paupers, 526; applicants for relief, 528; recruits, 529.

Board schools, 129.

Book-folding and book-sewing, 444.

Boot and Shoe Makers, The Amalgamated Society of, 296.

Boot and Shoe Rivetters and Finishers, The National Union of Operative, 296.

Boot clickers, 242; wages, 258.

Boot-closers, 242; wages, 244.

Boot-finishers, 256; 274.

Boot Finishers' and Lasters' Trade Society, The Jewish Mutual, 307.

Boot Finishers' Society, The International Journeymen, 307.

Boot "makers," 247; wages, 248.

Boot-making, 241-308; percentage of occupied persons engaged in the trade, 241; hand-sewn trade, 242; boot clickers, 242; boot-closers, 242; boot "makers," 243; "long work," 243; "pattern cutters," 247; paste fitters, 247; machinists, 247; button holers, 247; table hands, 247; process in a typical factory, 255; finishers, 256; pegged boot-makers, 284; rivetted boots, 284; "sew-rounds," 284-296; trade organizations, 296.

Borough of Hackney Club, 99; co-operative stores, 112.

Box-making, 428.

Bribery in the docks, 198; in tailoring trade, 230.

Brick Lane, 67.

Brush-making, 431.

Button holers, 247, 259.

C CLASS, "intermittent earnings," "poor"—sectional classification, 34; numerical and percentage tables of, 36; description of, 44; sectional classification in districts, 47; standard of life of, 131; married state of, 132; average expenditure, 133, 134, 138.

Cabinet-makers and upholsterers, numbers of, 311; factories, 324; larger workshops of, 324; small makers, 326; independent workers, 328; wages of, 352.

Cabinet Makers' Association, The Alliance, 352, 369.

Carvers, numbers of, 311; position in trade, 333; wages of, 355.

Casual labour, 42; 197, 200; costliness of, 202.

- Chairmakers, 331; migration of the trade to East London, 332; competition with High Wycombe, 332; wages of, 355.
- Chamber masters—in boot trade, 252; in fur trade, 423.
- Chevras (Jewish Societies), 567.
- Church and chapel, census of attendance at, 120.
- Cigarette factories, 383; wages lowered by women's competition, 385.
- Cigarette and Tobacco Cutters' Union, 386.
- Cigar factories, 373; mould work, 373; German trade, 374; liquorers and strippers, 375; female "makers," 376; "sorters" and "bundlers," 379.
- Cigar Makers' Mutual Association, 377; Provident, Trade Society, 377.
- Class A, 37; B, 39; C, 44; D, 48; E, 50; F, 51; G, 60; H, 60.
- Classes, *vide* tables.
- Classes, description of, 37-61; graphic representation of, 73, 156.
- Classification of population, 33.
- Class relations, 156-171.
- Clickers, 242; wages of, 242, 258.
- Closers, 242; wages of, 244.
- Clothes, expenditure on, 133, 135, 138.
- Clothing, ready made, 212.
- Clubs for boys, 98.
- Clubs, working men's, 94-106; religious and philanthropic, 98; social, 98; political, 99; Jews', 100; University Club, 100; list of, 102-106.
- Coat shops, types of Jewish, 222; classification of, 239.
- Coat making, 217-228.
- Cocoa rooms, 116.
- Conciliation, Board of, at Northampton, 306.
- Confectionery, 438.
- Contractors, Jewish, 209, 210, 215; regular employment offered by large, 225.
- Contract system introduced at London and St. Katherine's Docks, 186; large labour contractors, 191.
- Co-operative stores, 112, 113; society for manufacturing cigarettes, 386.
- Co-operative Wholesale Society, 112.
- Corsets, 420.
- Curtain Road, 312.
- D CLASS, "small, regular earnings," "poor"—sectional classification, 34; numerical and percentage tables of, 36; description of, 48; sectional classification in districts, 47; standard of life of, 131; married state, 132; average expenditure, 133, 134, 138.
- District investigated, area and boundaries of, 28.
- Dividing societies, 109.
- Dock foremen, 194.
- Dock labour, 188; wages of, 192, 193; absence of foreign element, 194; wages, 198; birthplaces, 533.
- Docks, early history of, 185; changes in organization of labour, 187; import work, 185; proposal to place them under a Public Trust, 206.
- E CLASS, "regular standard earnings"—sectional classification, 34; numerical and percentage tables of, 36; description of, 50; sectional classification in districts, 52; average expenditure, 133, 134, 138.
- East London and Hackney, tables of sections and classes in, 34; population of, 32; industrial position of, 175-183.
- East London, tables of sections and classes in, 90.
- East London Hospital, 129.
- Employment, division into sections according to, 33.
- Expenditure, household, analysis of tables of, 134; tables of, 136-138.
- Expenses of production in furniture trade, 348.
- F CLASS, "higher class labour"—sectional classification, 34; numerical and percentage tables of, 36; description of, 51; sectional classification in districts, 52; average expenditure, 133, 134, 138.
- "Factors" in boot trade, 253.
- Factory girls, 461-476.
- Families, description of selected, 140-146.
- Fashion, changes in furniture trade, 344.

Female heads of families, classification of, 61.  
 Female labour—tailoring, 213; employed by Germans, 214; trouser and vest making, 216; wages, 224, 235; sub-contract, 236; in boot trade, 247, 255, 260, 286; in furniture trade, 358; in cigar trade, 373, 376; wages of cigar makers, 377; in tobacco factories, 382; in cigarette factories, 385; 406-476.  
 Fire and light, expenditure on, 135, 138.  
 Flower making, 444.  
 Food, expenditure on, 133, 134, 138; prices of, 139.  
 Foreign immigration, 543-553; of Germans, 545; of Dutch, 545; of Jews, 546-553.  
 Foreign labour, 276-278; 363.  
 Foremen in docks, 194; in boot trade, 259.  
 Foresters, Ancient Order of, 106.  
 French polishers, numbers of, 311; position in the trade, 334; wages of, 336, 356; profits of, 349 *note*; "East End," 369.  
 Friendly societies, 106-109; table of, 110.  
 Furniture trade, 309-369; numbers employed in, 310; branches of, 311, 318; area of, 312; markets, 313; carried on by small masters, 316; specialization of skill, 319, 368; factories, 324; larger workshops, 324; hawking in, 327; competition of small makers, 327; chairmaking, 331; migration of the trade to East London, 332; French polishing, 334-336; fall in prices, 341; wages, 350-360; Jewish labour, 361.  
 Fur trade, 423.

G CLASS, "lower middle class"—sectional classification, 34; numerical and percentage tables of, 36; description of, 60.  
 "Garret" masters, 326, 330, 338.  
 German Hospital, 129.  
 German tailors, 214; contractors, 216.  
 Government contract work, 229.  
 Graphic representation of proportions of classes, 73, 156.

"Greeners," 224, 291, 583.  
 "Grindery," 243 *note*.

H CLASS, "upper middle class"—sectional classification, 34; numerical and percentage tables of, 36; description of, 60.

Hackney, population of, 32; tables of classes in, 36; description of, 72; tables of sections and classes in, 88.

Harley house, 122.

Hearts of Oak, 107.

Hebrew Cabinet Makers' Association, 361.

Homes, Dr. Barnardo's, 127.

Home-work—in tailoring trade, 214, 407; in boot trade, 243, 245, 247, 257, 260, 268, 286; in furniture trade, 335; in silk trade, 395, 402; in shirt-making, 409; ties, 414; trimmings, 416; umbrellas, 418; corsets, 421; furs, 423; boxes, 428; match-boxes, 431; brushes, 431, 445-461.

Hospitals, 127-129.

Household expenditure, analysis of tables of, 134; tables of, 136-138.

Houses, general description of, 30.

IMMIGRATION, 500-563; *v.* Influx, age of, 513; classes of immigrants, 524; trade distribution, 530; of foreigners, 543; of Jews, 546.

Indiscriminate charity, 127, 207.

Industrial position of East London, 175-183.

Influx of population, 500-563; sources of information, 502; inflow compared with outflow, 507; localization of, 509; sources of, 509; Mr. Ravenstein's theory of migration, 511; causes of, 515; overflow from East London, 519; effect of demolitions, 520; birth-places of inhabitants of work-houses and others, 526; of dock labourers, 533; building trades, 539; carrying trades, 541; foreign immigration, 543; tables of birth-places, 556.

Information, sources and nature of, 4-37.

Inner ring, characteristics of, 29.

Inquiry, when commenced, 3.



- Inquiry, scope and method of, 3-7.  
 Insurance, expenditure on, 138, 139.  
 International Journeymen Boot Finishers' Society, 307.  
 Irish labour in the docks, 533.  
 Irregular employment—in docks, 199, 207; in tailoring, 225; in boot trade, 248, 263-4 *note*, 265-267, 268 *note*, 278, 289.  
  
 JAM factories, 438.  
 Jewish Board of Guardians, 362 *note*; 571.  
 Jewish contractors, 209, 210; competition with provincial factory, 212-215; coat-makers, 217; sew-round shoemakers, 289; Mutual Boot Finishers' and Lasters' Trade Society, 307; labour in furniture trade, 361; in cigar trade, 378; in cigarette trade, 385.  
 Jewish community, 564-590; settlement in Houndsditch, 564; London Committee of Deputies of British Jews (1760), 565; the Beth Din, 565; East End settlement, Chevrass, 567; Jewish Board of Guardians, 571; its loan system, 574; Christian conversionist societies, 575; temporary shelter, 576; nationality of East End Jews, 577; action of Russia, 578; a typical landing in London, 580; rise in the social scale, 584; education and its effects, 585.  
 Jewish immigration, 546.  
 Jews' Club, 99.  
 Juvenile suits, 235, 409.  
  
 "KNIFERS" in boot trade, 275; wages of, 283.  
  
 "LASTERS," 256; wages of, 265.  
 Learners of tailoring, 224; boot-making, 259.  
 "Leisure class," 205.  
 "Limited Socialism," 165-171.  
 "Liquoring," 375.  
 Loan Societies, 111.  
 Lockhart's Cocoa-rooms, 116.  
 Lodging-houses, 68.  
 Lolesworth Club, 124.  
  
 London and St. Katherine Docks, date of opening, 185; piece-work and contract system introduced, 186; strike in 1872, 186; numbers employed, 190; organization of labour, 193; strike in 1880, and wages, 193.  
 London Hospital, 128.  
 Looking-glass frame makers, 332.  
 Loyal United Friends, Order of, 106.  
  
 MACHINERY, effect on wages in boot trade, 245, 249.  
 Machinists, boot, 244, 259.  
 Mansion House Fund, 207.  
 Map, construction and revision of, 24.  
 Maps, sketch map of London, facing 3; of proportion of population born in other parts of the United Kingdom, 509; in other parts of England and Wales, 510; abroad, 544; of East End poverty, 598.  
 Married state of East End, 477.  
 Match-boxes, 431.  
 Matches, 435.  
 Metropolitan Hospital, 128.  
 Middlemen, 228, 252, 253, 314, 410, 415.  
 Mile End Old Town, population of, 32; tables of classes in, 36; description of, 70; tables of sections and classes in, 84.  
 Millwall Dock, date of opening, 185; labour imported, 186, 191; timber and grain dockers, 188; numbers employed, 191; system of large labour contracts, 191; wages, 192.  
 Mission halls, census of attendance at, 120.  
 Missions, 119.  
 Model dwellings, 32.  
 Mould work in cigar trade, 373.  
 Music halls, 116.  
  
 NORTHAMPTON boot trade, 305.  
  
 ODD FELLOWS, 106.  
 Ostrich feather curling, 44.  
 Outer ring, characteristics of, 30.  
 Overtime in tailoring, 223.  
 Oxford House, 122, 124.

- "PASTE FITTERS" in boot trade, 247.  
 "Pattern cutters" in boot trade, 247; wages, 258.  
 People's Palace, 118.  
 "Permanent" dock labourers, 196; birthplaces and former occupations, 535.  
 Petticoat Lane, 66.  
 Phoenix Benefit Society, 108.  
 Piece-work introduced at London and St. Katherine Docks, 186.  
 Point of view, 591-598.  
 "Poor," and "very poor," definition of, 33.  
 Poor relief, 129.  
 Poplar, population of, 32; tables of classes in, 36; description of, 71; table of sections and classes in, 86.  
 Population of district, summary of, 32; influx of, 500-563; actual growth and natural growth, 506.  
 Poverty, 131-155; causes of, 146-149; map of, to face, 598.  
 Prices of articles consumed, 139.  
 "Preferred" men, 190; "Ticket" men, 191; "Royals," 190, 192, 198.  
 Profit, workers for, 56-60; of contractors or sub-contractors, 230-232, 261-264, 271-3 *note*; 280 *note*, 281 *note*, 286, 293; in furniture trade, 344.  
 Progressive Society (furniture trade), 369.  
 Proportion of classes, graphic representation of, 73.  
 Proprietary clubs, 90.  
 Provincial factories, clothing, 212, 235, 237; boot, 246, 250; tobacco, 372; corset, 421.  
 Prudential, 109.  
 Public-houses, 113-116.  
  
 RATCLIFFE HIGHWAY, 70.  
 Rechabites, 108.  
 Religion, 119-122; census of, 120.  
 Removals in Bethnal Green, 27.  
 Rent, expenditure on, 133, 135, 138.  
 "Royals," 190, 192.  
  
 SALVATION ARMY, 124-127.  
 St. George's East, population of, 32; tables of classes in, 46; description of, 66; table of sections and classes in, 80.  
 Saw mills, 317, 320-323.  
 School Board visitors, number of, 4.  
 School Board visitors, duties of, 5.  
 Sections, tables of, 34, 40, 47, 52, 64, 74-93.  
 Sections, division of population into, according to employment, 33.  
 "Sew-round" trade, 285.  
 Ship-gangers, 188.  
 Shirt-making, 409; finishing, 409; machining, 410.  
 Shoreditch, population of, 32; tables of classes in, 36; description of, 72; table of sections and classes in, 74; numbers in furniture trade, 311.  
 Silk manufacture, 389-405; decline of silk "throwing" trade, 389; protection of trade, 390; French treaty, 393; diminishing numbers in the trade, 395; a typical weaver's home, 395; process of manufacture, 397; neckties and scarves, 398; wages of weavers, 400; umbrella silk, 402; furniture silk, 402; French Protestant Hospital, 403; numbers in trade, 404.  
 Slipper trade, 295.  
 "Slop" trade, 210; wages in, 224; little sub-division, 227.  
 Sole-sewing machine, 250, 272.  
 "Sorters" and Bundlers' Society, 379.  
 Spitalfields, silk weavers in, 388.  
 Standard of life, 131; 467.  
 "Statement," wages in boot trade, 298.  
 Stepney, population of, 32; tables of classes in, 36; description of, 70; table of sections and classes in, 82.  
 Stevedores, 188; trade union of, 204.  
 Streets, number of, 7.  
 Streets, specimens of each class of, 7-24.  
 Strikes of dockers in 1872, 186; in 1880, 193.  
 "Strippers," 375; Mutual Association of, 375.  
 Sub-contract, 228; Government work, 229; in trouser trade, 236; in boot trade, 252, 260, 261-264, 265; in shirt trade, 411; in tie trade, 414; fur trade, 423.  
 Sub-division of labour in coat shops, 227; in boot factories, 247, 254; in furniture trade, 317.

Sweating, 481-500.

Sweating masters, combination of, in boot trade, 307.

"Sweating system"—in tailoring, 209, 214, 220, 228, 232, 238; in boot trade, 271, 275, 280-283, 289. See also under "Sweating."

Sweet-stuff factories, 438.

TABLES, I, Sections and classes, 34; II, numerical, of classes, 36; III, percentage, of classes, 36; IV, formation of class B, 40; V, formation of classes C and D, 47; VI, formation of classes E and F, 52; VII, percentage of sections, 64; VIII, sections and classes, Shoreditch, 74; IX, Bethnal Green, 76; X, Whitechapel, 78; XI, St. George's-in-the-East, 80; XII, Stepney, 82; XIII, Mile End Old Town, 84; XIV, Poplar, 86; XV, Hackney, 88; XVI, East London, 90; XVII, East London and Hackney, 92; XVIII, members of Friendly Societies, 110; XIX, attendances at churches and chapels and mission halls, 120; XX, household expenditure, 136. Industrial position of East London, 175, 177, 179, 180; types of Jewish coat shops, 222; shops in clothing trade, 239; numbers in boot trade, 241; earnings in boot trade, 264, 267; foreigners in furniture trade, 365; numbers in silk trade, 404; married state of East End, 477; population in registration districts, 507; density of population, 510; ages, 514; male agricultural population, 516; school children, 521, 548; birthplaces, 526-530, 536-539; of foreigners, 556; of those born out of the United Kingdom, 557; of those born in United Kingdom but not in London, 558-563.

Tables of classes, assumptions on which based, 4.

Table hands, 247; wages, 259.

Tailoring, by journeyman tailor, 210; by contractor, 210; "ordered garments," 213.

Tailors' cutters, wages of, 210.

Tailors, journeymen, wages of, 213 *note*; home-workers, 214; trousers and vest trade, 216.

Tailors, Society of Amalgamated, 213 *note*.

Team system in boot trade, 269.

Theatres, 116.

"Ticket" men, 191, 198.

Ties, 414.

Timber merchants, 319.

Tobacco workers, 370-388; inspection, 370; female competition, 371; apprenticeship, 371, 378; number of factories, 371; numbers in trade, 372; cigar factories, 373-379; tobacco factories, 379; machine men, stovers and spinners, 380; cigarette factories, 383.

Total abstinence benefit societies, 108.

Tower Hamlets Co-operative Society, 112, 113.

Toynbee Hall, 122-124.

Trade union of Stevedores, 204; of dock labourers, 188 *note*; of tailors, 213 *note*; in boot trade, 296-308; of cabinet makers, 361, 369; of upholstresses, 359; of strippers, 375; of cigar makers, 377; of sorters and bundlers, 379; of cigarette makers, 386.

"Trimmers" in boot trade, 255; wages, 259.

Trimmings, 416.

Trouser making, 216, 235; sub-contract in, 236; 407.

Turners, 320-323; wages of, 352.

UMBRELLA MAKING, 418.

"Unemployed, The," 149-155.

United Radical Club, 99; co-operative society, 112.

University Club, 99; co-operative society, 112.

Upholsterers and cabinet makers, numbers of, 311; position in trade, 336; wages of, 357.

Upholstresses, 358; wages of, 358.

Upholstresses' Society, 359.

VENEERING, 343.

Vest trade, 216, 408.

WAGES of dock labour, 192, 193; of journeymen tailors, 213 *note*; in Jewish coat shops, 222; of "greeners," 224; of clickers, 242,



258; of "long work" closers, 243; of "short work" closers, 244; of boot machinists, 244; of boot "makers," 248-250; of hand-sewn boot-makers, 251; of apprentices in boot trade, 258 *note*; of pattern cutters, 258; of foremen, 259; of boot machinists, 259; of button holers, 259; in domestic workshops, 260; fall in, 261; in "rough-stuff" department, 265; of lasters, 265; under the team system, 270; of sole-sewing machinists, 271; of finishers, 274, 277; of knifers, 283; of rivetters, 284; of upper-binders, 286; for best "sew-rounds," 288; for inferior "sew-rounds," 291; of greeners, 293; of slipper makers, 296; "statement," wages in boot trade, 298; of French polishers, 336; in furniture trade, 350-360; in cigar trade, of liquorers and strippers, 375; of makers, 376; of "spinners," 382; of cigarette makers, 385; of silk weavers, 400; trouser machinists and finishers, 408; vest makers, 408; juvenile suits, 409; shirts, 410, 412; ties, 415; trimmings, 417; umbrellas, 419, 420; corsets, 421;

furs, 426; boxes, 428; match-boxes, 431; brushes, 433; matches, 436; confectionery, 440; of women in full work, 468.

Warehousing gang, 188.

Washing and cleaning, expenditure on, 135, 138.

West and East India Docks, date of opening, 185; strike in 1872, 186; numbers employed, 190; organization of labour, 192; wages, 192.

Wharves, establishment of, 185.

Whitechapel, population of, 32; tables of classes in, 36; description of, 66; table of sections and classes in, 78; coat-making trade in, 218, 239.

Whittington Club, 124.

Wholesale clothing trade, 212; boot trade, 246; furniture dealers, 316; 338.

Wood carvers and gilders, numbers of, 311; position in trade, 333.

Wood turners and box makers, numbers of, 311.

Working men's clubs, 94-106.

Workshops, 31; in tailoring trade, 219, 238; "associated" in boot trade, 247; in cabinet trade, 324, 326.

## INDEX TO VOL. II.

- A CLASS**—ratio to population of London, 21; proportion of, in "compound" areas, 34-35; in certain compound blocks, 36-37; in certain school-board blocks, 38-39; in black streets, specimens of, 46-82; in block dwellings, 242-246; children of, in elementary schools, 479-482. Areas of 90,000 people, 24, 33; table of proportion of classes in, 34-35.
- B CLASS**—ratio to population of London, 21; proportion of, in "compound" areas, 34-35; in certain compound blocks, 36-37; in certain school-board blocks, 38-39; in dark blue streets with black line, 83-93; in dark blue streets, 94-138; in purple streets, 172-213; in block dwellings, 242-246; industrial formation of, in Central and East London and Battersea, 384; children of, in elementary schools, 479-482.
- Battersea, comparison of, with East London and Central London, 371-387; description of, 407-415; the Shaftesbury estate in, 410-411; table of sections and classes in, 414-415.
- Black streets, specimens of, 46-82.
- Block dwellings, 236-290; numbers of, 238; financial position of companies for building, 240; tables of, 242-246; influence on character of, 262-269; life in, 270-275; samples of, 275-290.
- Blocks of streets—method of grouping, 16, 20; school board, 20; "compound," 20; compound blocks with more than 40 per cent. of poverty, 36-37; school-board blocks with more than 50 per cent. of poverty, 38-39.
- Board schools, children in, 479.
- Boot-making in Central London, 307-309.
- C CLASS**—ratio to population of London, 21; proportion of, in "compound" areas, 34-35; in light blue streets, 139-171; in purple streets, 172-213; in block dwellings, 242-246; industrial formation of, in Central and East London and Battersea, 385.
- Census of inmates of refuges, 364-370.
- Central London, 293-388; description of, 293-304; tailors and bootmakers in, 305-321; Covent Garden Market, 322-334; common lodging-houses, 335-349; homeless men in, 350-370; comparison with East London and Battersea, 371-387; tables of sections and classes in, 372-379; percentage table of sections in, 381; comparison with tables of sections in East London and Battersea, 383.
- Chelsea, specimen block of streets in, 10-11.
- Children in London, 477-588; classification of, 477-487; in elementary schools, 479-482; poverty of, 510; neglect of, 512; in endowed schools for boys, 530, 540-541; in proprietary schools for boys, 530-541.
- Classes of population, 20; proportions of, in London, 21; graphic representation of, 21; proportion of, in "compound" areas, 34-35; in certain compound blocks, 36-37; in certain school-board blocks, 38-39.
- Classification of schools and children, 477-487.
- Clerkenwell, 303.
- Colours, signification of, 40-41.
- Common lodging-houses in Central London, 335-349; at Notting Hill, 340.

Compound areas, 33.  
Cost of education, 508, 545-552.  
Covent Garden Market, 322-334;  
regulation of, 324-327; staff of,  
329; shopkeepers in, 330; growers,  
330; porters, 330-333; costers and  
flower-girls, 333-334.

D CLASS—ratio to population of Lon-  
don, 21; proportion of, in "com-  
pound" areas, 34-35; in certain  
compound blocks, 36-37; in certain  
school-board blocks, 38-39; in light  
blue streets, 139-171; in purple  
streets, 172-213; in block dwellings,  
242-246; industrial formation of,  
in Central and East London and  
Battersea, 385; children of, in  
elementary schools, 479-482.

Dark blue streets with black line,  
specimens of, 83-93.

Dark blue streets, specimens of,  
94-138.

Discharged soldiers, 358.

E CLASS—ratio to population of Lon-  
don, 21; proportion of, in "com-  
pound" areas, 34-35; in certain  
compound blocks, 36-37, in certain  
school-board blocks, 38-39; in  
purple streets, 172-213; in pink  
streets, 214-225; in block dwellings,  
242-246; children of, in elementary  
schools, 479-482.

East London, statistics of poverty in,  
25-26; comparison with Central  
London and Battersea, 371-387.

Education, elementary, 486-528;  
secondary, for boys, 529-571, for  
girls, 572-588.

Efflux of population, 450-453.

Endowed schools commission, 532-  
538; department of Charity com-  
mission, 538.

F CLASS—ratio to population of Lon-  
don, 21; proportion of, in "com-  
pound" areas, 34-35; in certain  
compound blocks, 36-37; in certain  
school-board blocks, 38-39; in  
purple streets, 172-213; in pink  
streets, 214-225; in block dwellings,  
242-246; children of, in elementary  
schools, 479-482.

Finsbury, specimen block of streets  
in, 4-5.

Free Dinners, 511.

Free scholars from elementary  
schools, 552-562; 578-588.

G CLASS—ratio to population of  
London, 21; proportion of, in  
"compound" areas, 34-35; in  
certain compound blocks, 36-37;  
in certain school-board blocks,  
38-39; in block dwellings, 242-  
246.

Goldsmith Street, 78-81.

Graphic representation of classes in  
London, 21.

Greenwich—Specimen block of  
streets in, 14-15.

H CLASS—ratio to population of  
London, 21; proportion of, in  
"compound" areas, 34-35; in  
certain compound blocks, 36-37  
in certain school-board blocks;  
38-39.

Ham-yard hospice, 353.

Hampstead, 424-5.

Homeless men, 350-370.

Home work in the West-end  
tailoring, 313-321.

Hornsey, 425.

Houses—scheduled and unscheduled  
in Classes G and H, 22.

INFLUX of population, 444-473;  
distribution of the immigrants in  
London, 446-450; efflux from  
London, 450-453; sources of,  
453-470; tables of birthplaces,  
472-3.

Inmates of institutions, 21, 23.

Islington, 421-423.

KENSAL New Town, 416, 419.

LAMBETH, East—Specimen block of  
streets in, 12-13.

Light blue streets, specimens of,  
139-171.

Lisson Grove, 416, 418.

Little Clarendon Street, 82.

Lock Bridge, 416, 418.



- London—divided into East, West, North, and South, 24; subdivision into areas of, 24; statistics of poverty in, 31; influx of population, 444-473; efflux from, 450-453; children, 477-589.
- MACKLIN Street, 75-77.
- Maps of London—method of construction, 16; revision of, 17.
- Marylebone, specimen block of streets in, 6-7.
- Model dwellings, 236-290.
- NORTH LONDON—statistics of poverty in, 26-27.
- PARKER STREET, 62-75.
- Paupers from common lodging-houses, 342.
- Pink streets, specimens of, 214-225.
- Population—classification of, 20; statistics of classes of, 21; influx of, 444-473.
- Porters in Covent Garden, 330-333, union of, 332.
- Poverty—statistics of, 18-39; in East London, 25-26; in North London, 26-27; in West London, 27-28; in South London, 29-30; in London, 31; in "compound" areas, 34-35; in certain compound blocks, 36-37; in certain school-board blocks, 38-39; in elementary schools, 510-512.
- Private schools, 543-545.
- Proprietary schools, 529; tables of, 566-571; for girls, 572.
- Purple streets, specimens of, 172-213.
- REFUGES, 350-370; census of inmates in, 364-370.
- Rooms, table of number occupied, 232; share to each person, 233.
- SCHOOLS, classification, 477-487; grades of elementary, 478; "special difficulty," 490-504; detailed analysis of six "special difficulty," 515-526; secondary, 527-588; evening, 562-565; tables of secondary and proprietary, 566-571.
- Secondary education, for boys, provision for, 530; connection with elementary education, 552-562; for girls, provision for, 572-574; connection with elementary education, 578-588.
- Seven Dials, 294.
- Shelton Street, 46-61.
- Smart's Building, 78-81.
- South London—statistics of poverty in, 29-30; the poorest district, 32; description of, 391-406; Battersea, 407-415.
- St. Giles's, table of sections and classes in, 376-7.
- St. Clement's Road, 416, 419-20.
- St. Pancras, 423-424.
- Statistics—of poverty, validity of, 18; of classes of population in London, 21; of poverty, in East London, 25-26; in North London, 26-27; in West London, 27-28; in South London, 29-30; in London, 31; of classes in compound areas, 34-35; in compound blocks with more than 40 per cent. of poverty, 36-37; in school-board blocks with more than 50 per cent. of poverty, 38-39; of streets, 41-43; of sample streets, 226-229, 231; of rooms occupied, 232; of block dwellings, 238, 242-246; of inmates of refuges, 367-370; of industrial sections in Central and East London and Battersea, 372-385, 414; of poverty in West London, 416; of village migrants, 465; of birthplaces, 472-3; of children in elementary public schools, 479-482, 484, 515-519, 520-526; of secondary schools, 530, 565-571.
- Streets—specimen blocks of, 4-15; method of grouping, 16, 20; colours of, 40-41; tables of, 42-43; description of black specimens, 46-82; of dark blue with black line, 83-93; of dark blue, 94-138; of light blue, 139-171; of purple, 172-213; of pink, 214-225; summary of sample, 226-229.
- Street, the—taken as the unit, 3.
- TAILORING in Central London, 309-321.

VOLUNTARY schools, children in, 480 ;  
Protestant, 484 ; Roman Catholic,  
485.

WALTHAMSTOW, 426-443 ; working  
men's railway fares from, 430-1 ;  
local government and education  
in, 433 ; allotments, 434-5 ;  
charities, 435-7 ; thrift in, 437 ;  
amusements, 437-439 ; description  
of St. James's Street district,  
439-443.

Wandsworth Bridge Road, 316, 420.

Wastrel clause of the Education  
Act (1876), 512-513.

West Ham registration district,  
population of, 33.

West London—statistics of poverty  
in, 27-28 ; exceptionally poor  
districts in, 416-421.

Westminster—specimen block of  
streets in, 8-9 ; tables of sections  
and classes in (Central London),  
374-5 ; description of (West  
London), 416-418.

Women—tailoresses, 316-321 ; por-  
ters, 332.

Wood Green, 425.













